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DISCOVERIES AT KARATEPE

A PHOENICIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTION FROM CILICIA

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CONTENTS

PAGE

ACCUMULATION OF DATA 1

SUCCESSION AND ARRANGEMENT 5

THE TEXT

A. On the Statue. 8

B. On the Lion Fragment 11

ANALYSIS AND COMMENT

A. Identity of the King 12

B. General Outline 14

C. Accomplishments in Particular 16

a. Defensive Measures 17

b. Conquest and Resettlement 21

c. Inner Security 22

d. Beneficial Results 26

e. Building of a Citadel 26

f. Installation of Baal KRNTRYŠ 29

D. The Finale 33

TRANSLATION 38

SUMMARY

A. Vocabulary, Idiom, and Orthography 42

B. Problem of Dating 46

POSTSCRIPT 49

PLATES I-VII 51

ACCUMULATION OF DATA

In the spring of 1946, an archaeological mission of the University of Istanbul set out to explore the antiquities of Karatepe. This is the Turkish name of an elevated stronghold in the mountainous region situated on the Ceyhan River to the east of Kadirli and to the north-east of Adana in southern Anatolia. We would thus be dealing here, as to the general area, with the Kilikia-Cilicia of classical writers and, presumably, with the Kizzuwatna of the cuneiform records from Boghazköy.

Reporting on the results of their initial expedition, the explorers served notice of their discovery of sculptural and epigraphic objects, the most notable of which was an "Old Aramaic" inscription of twenty lines of writing and, apparently, of great antiquity. The inscription was found incised on the back of a statue of dark-gray basalt, over two meters in height. When the explorers first came upon it, the statue was lying face down, and, although they were unable then to move the heavy stone, they inferred that it must have borne writing on its front as well. They also inferred that a lion-monument lying nearby, which they had found even before they discovered the statue, had originally served as the latter's pedestal. Other epigraphic objects found in the vicinity of the statue included a stone fragment bearing some fourteen lines of "Old Aramaic" writing, the fragment of a portal-lion exhibiting similar writing, and several stone fragments incised in Hittite hieroglyphics.[1]

It was clear from the report that the significance of the initial expedition rested on the vistas it opened rather than on its tangible yields. The authors of the report merely held out the possibility that the stone fragment of fourteen lines of writing might have broken off the statue before it fell down from its pedestal; that even the fragment of the portal-lion might have belonged to the statue; and that other fragments of the monument might eventually be found in the vicinity. They did stress the fact that here for

[1] For the initial report, see H. Th. Bossert and H. Cambel, *Karatepe, a Preliminary Report on a New Hittite Site* (Faculty of Letters of the University of Istanbul, Publications of the Institute for Research in Ancient Oriental Civilisations, No. 1), Istanbul, 1946.

the first time "Aramaic and Hittite hieroglyphic" inscriptions have been found "side by side," but they realized that nothing could be said for the moment as to "whether these two types of inscriptions really belonged to the same epoch."

Nevertheless, the data furnished in the Preliminary Report, however meager in themselves, were sufficint to arouse wide interest in the discoveries, indeed even sufficient to make Professor Albright recognize that the twenty-line inscription, of which a photograph was furnished in the report, was "Canaanite" rather than Aramaic,[2] though of course not at all sufficient for scholars to form an opinion as to the nature and importance of the new epigraphic finds.

An opinion has now been made possible, at least as far as the Semitic materials are concerned, by the report of a second expedition at Karatepe, in the spring of 1947, a copy of which reached me, as it reached others in this country, late last February. In fact, with regard to these materials, nearly all the inferences that had suggested themselves during the initial expedition now proved to have been well founded. Thus, when the statue was now rolled over, it was actually found to bear writing on its front as well as on its flanks. At the same time, the fourteen-line fragment could now be seen to be part of the statue, while the legends on the fragment of the portal-lion appeared to be clearly related to those found on the statue. Moreover, the explorers now found several additional fragments pertaining to the statue, which they were able to restore to their original position.[3]

The most decisive thing, however, was that all the writing on the statue could now be seen to represent a single continuous text in the nature of a royal inscription, that is, an inscription designed to honor and commemorate the reign of a king whose realm included the site of Karatepe, very likely, we shall see, as his citadel. Beyond this, the explorers were now able to extract from the inscription a series of data, the most vital of which were the following:

that the name of the ruler was 'ZTWD, mentioned in the course of the inscription no fewer than eight times;

that twice in the text on the statue, and once on the lion

[2] *BASOR*, No. 105, 1947, p. 13.

[3] For the second report, see H. Th. Bossert and U. Bahadir Alkim, *Karatepe, Kadirli and its Environments* (*ibidem*, No. 3), Istanbul, 1947.

fragment, reference is made to 'ZTWDY, which, the authors of the new report justly suspected, "could be a *nisbe* formation" of the king's name;

that frequent reference is made in the inscription to the DNNYM and that this is identical with the D[N]NYM of the Kilamawu inscription from Zenjirli;[4]

that 'ZTWD appears to have "also called himself 'King of Danuna,'" and that the latter designation as well as that of DNNYM are to be identified with the "Danuna" and "the Danunians" referred to in Egyptian, Amarnian, and Assyrian sources;[5]

that four times in the text mention is made of *'mq 'dn*, and that modern Adana has been identified by recent scholars with the Adania-Atania of the cuneiform texts from Boghazköy.[6]

With regard to its external make-up, when all the parts that had gradually come to light were put together, the inscription appeared to have comprised no less than seventy-nine lines of writing and to have been divided into four columns which had been placed, respectively, on the front and the back of the statue and on each of its sides. The explorers soon recognized that the front and the back of the statue represented columns 1 and 3, but they were uncertain which of the two side columns connected 1 and 3, and which of them concluded the inscription. To indicate the uncertainty, in the report of the second expedition, they placed column "IIII" between "I" and "III," and made "II" follow column "III."

Of the four columns, 2 and 3 were well preserved, as may be seen from the plates appended to this study (Pls. 3, 4, 5), with column 3 being virtually complete from beginning to end. By contrast, columns 1 and 4 (Pls. 2 and 6) were badly broken up. In addition to a generous supply of photographs and squeezes,

[4] This inscription, to be referred to below as KLMW, will be seen to be of foremost importance for the appraisal of the new find; for the text and the translation, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3, 218 ff.

[5] See below, n. 50.

[6] Reference is made to A. T. Olmstead, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VIII, 1922, p. 230, n. 4; and X, p. 175; A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, 1940, p. 58; and S. Smith, *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX, p. 45.

covering columns 2 and 3, the report on the second expedition contained an excellent autograph of the entire text—to the extent to which it is preserved—prepared by Prof. Helmuth Bossert, the director of the mission, in collaboration with his colleague, Dr. Bahadir Alkim. It is this autograph that has been reproduced in the Plates just mentioned.

Although the inscription of the statue thus became fairly tangible during the second expedition, further substantial discoveries were made in the course of a third campaign at Karatepe, in the autumn of 1947—discoveries bearing on the reading and interpretation of the inscription as well as on its general significance and background. It will be seen (cf. Pl. 3) that after the second report was published the autograph of column 2 was submitted to a far-reaching revision, with the result that a number of lacunae were filled out and several errors corrected. This was most fortunate; without it, the task of appraising the text would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible. According to information that was given out by Professor Bossert, the revision was based on duplicates discovered in excavations that had been carried out during the third campaign.

On general grounds, and judging from the nature of the revision, one was naturally led to assume that we would here have to do with *Semitic* duplicates. In a more recent communication, however, Bossert states[7] that, in addition to three Semitic versions of the inscription, two versions of it were found in Hittite hieroglyphics. This fact alone, amounting to Hittito-Phoenician bilinguals—Bossert speaks of "Duplikate," "Versionen," "Fassungen"—would render the discoveries at Karatepe of extraordinary and, indeed, unique importance. And one cannot but look forward to the publication of a detailed report of the third campaign with keenest interest and anticipation.

Following a suggestion of Professor Bossert, I have attempted a preliminary analysis and translation of the text. It is the result of this attempt that I venture to submit in the following pages.[8]

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[7] In a letter of March 18, 1948.

[8] I am indebted to Prof. Bossert for his co-operation in replying to queries generously and promptly, and for his ready permission to reproduce the material appended to this study.

SUCCESSION AND ARRANGEMENT

In the main, the text reproduced below follows the autograph of the explorers. A departure, however, has been made concerning the succession of the columns, since I am satisfied, by evidence of more than one kind, that the column to the right of the king's chest is the second in order and that the one to the left contains the end of the inscription. Again, since columns 1 and 4 have not been included in Bossert's revision, I have found myself prompted, on purely philological grounds, to restore some of the lacunae in these columns, and even to suspect scribal errors whether of the stonecutter or of the explorers themselves.

In one case it has even been possible to clarify a difficult passage with the help of the lion fragment mentioned above. A word may be said here concerning the nature of this fragment (Pl. 7). At first sight, the fragment looks as though it contained a series of excerpts from the text on the statue. Indeed, the authors of the second report realized that the order of the series is the same as that of the corresponding passages on the statue, but they posed the question as to whether we might not be dealing here with "a synopsis" of the inscription proper. It will be seen, however, that none of the "excerpts" represents a complete clause, and that with but one exception each of them begins either in the middle of a phrase or even in the middle of a word. Accordingly, we will of necessity have to consider the fragment as part of a stone which had been incised with a complete copy of the text, the relationship between the "excerpts" and the inscription on the statue being exactly like that between a series of disconnected segments of a jig-saw puzzle and the complete picture.

Quite properly, the alphabet of the new inscription has been put, in the Preliminary Report, in juxtaposition with that exhibited in the epigraphic records from Zenjirli and Ördek Burnu; but the comparison might have been extended to include at least two other centers: Hamath and Sujin.[9]. For, obviously, in all these

[9] For the Zenjirli inscriptions, other than KLMW (above, n. 4), see Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 159 ff.; for the Ördek Burnu stele, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3, 192 ff.; for the Hamath stele, cf. *ibidem*, 1 ff.; for the Sujin inscription (still awaiting a complete and detailed investigation), see Hans Bauer, "Ein aramäischer Staatsvertrag aus dem 8.

instances we have to do with one and the same stage in the development of North Semitic epigraphy. Roughly, it may be said to be the stage occupying an intermediate, or transitional, position between the royal inscriptions of the early Byblos period (Ahiram, etc.) and those of the Middle Phoenician period (Yeḥawmilk, etc.).

One or two paleographic characteristics of this stage are of direct bearing on the reading and interpretation of the text before us. Thus, the sign for *d*, which in early Byblos, and also in Mesha, is still strictly triangular,[10] has now developed a flourish causing the right-hand bar of the sign to extend downwards. As a result, we would often, if not always, be in doubt (except indeed where the context is absolutely decisive and clear-cut) whether the sign in question is intended to represent *d* or *r*—an ambiguity that was destined to become all but omnipresent in the subsequent epigraphic period, even down to Syriac and square Hebrew. In one instance, too, a sign is executed in such a way that it might represent either *p* or *g*; in another, it appears questionable whether we are faced with the sign for *m* or with that for *n*.[11]

An excellent opportunity to study the paleography of the Karatepe inscription is afforded by the photographs and squeezes supplied in the second report. Some of these photographs have been appended to the present study (Pl. 1). They pay tribute to the care and effort spent by the explorers in making the inscription available to scholarly investigation.

An extraordinary feature of the Karatepe inscription is that it employs a system of punctuation by means of smaller and larger spatia, over against the more usual means found in early epigraphy, such as dots and strokes (Mesha) or strokes, or wedges, alone (Ahiram, Ugaritic), or dots alone (KLMW). It was only after having reached an understanding of the text that I realized that

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Jahrhundert v. Chr. Die Inschrift der Stele von Sudschīn," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 8, 1932-33, 1 ff.

[10] Or, at any rate, a strictly closed figure; for a reproduction of the Mesha stele, see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 2, Pl. 1. For the literature on the Early Byblos inscriptions, see Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (to be referred to hereafter as *GPL*), 158 f.

[11] See below, p. 24. Another instance of the *m-n* ambiguity has led the explorers to doubt the identity of a sign required by the context to be *m* (in the word *ḥmyt*, "walls"); see the autograph on 2: 6.

the larger spatia serve to mark off contextual units, while the smaller ones are designed to serve as word separators. However, to judge from the available photographs and the testimony of the autograph, no thoroughgoing consistency is discernible in the stonecutter's use of the smaller spatia, although he may well have been more punctilious in the use of the larger ones. In the following transcription, only the larger spatia have been marked, while words have been separated without regard to the spacing or lack of spacing indicated in the autograph.

In reproducing the text of the statue, the explorers' corrections and restorations, which they superimposed in ink on the autograph, have been given in square brackets, while angular brackets indicate restorations suggested by the present writer. A dot on top of a letter has been employed where the given letter is partly broken off or is of doubtful paleographic identity—such as in the instances of *d-r*, *p-g*, *m-n*, mentioned above—or where the writer found himself obliged to infer that the letter in question should replace the one given in the autograph. In two instances, finally, a letter has been put in parentheses to indicate that it should probably be deleted from the text.

For obvious reasons, it has seemed appropriate to reproduce the text in square Hebrew rather than in Phoenician script. It has seemed pertinent, too, to offer a transcription of the lion fragment as well. The fragment is instructive not only for the light it sheds on a corrigendum in the text of the statue but also for its own corrigenda. It is a rare opportunity to find within so brief an epigraphic document a variety of demonstrable scribal errors.

THE TEXT

A. On the Statue

Col. 1

1 אנך אזתוד הברך[12] בע[ל]
2 עבד בעל אש אדר א‹מן?›[13]
3 מלך דננים פעלן [בע]
4 ל לדננים לאב ‹ולאח›
5 מחו[14] אנך אית ‹ממלכת›
6 י רחב אנך ‹אית אר›
7 צתן[15] לממצא ‹שמש ועד›
8 מבאי וכ‹ן בימתי מנ›
9 עם לדנני‹ם› . . .
10 . . . עם ומ . .
11 . . ופעל ‹אנך› . .
12 ועז א‹נך› . . .
13 ח . . . . . .
14 ל . . . . . .
15-19 . . . . . .
20 ו . . . . . .
21 ושת א‹נך› . . .
22 אף בא . . . .
23 בני . . . . .

Col. 2

1 י ובן אנך חמית עזת בכל
2 [קצ]ית על גבלם במקמם בא

---

[12] The *k* corrected from *w* in A(utograph).
[13] A: '[*wrk*].
[14] A: *yḥw*.
[15] A: *ṣyn*.

3 [ש כ]ן אשם דעם[16] בעל אף[17] דרם[18]
4 [אש ב]ל אש עבד[19] כן לבת מפש[20]
5 [ואנ]ך אזתוד שתנם תחת
6 [פעמי] ובן אנך חמית[21] ב
7 [מקמם] המת לשבתנם דננים
8 [בנחת] לבנם ועז אנך
9 [ארצת] עזת במבא שמש אש בל
10 [עז כל] ה מלכם אש כן לפני
11 [ואנך] אזתוד ענתנם יר
12 [דם אנך][22] ישבם אנך בקצת
13 [גבלי][23] במצא שמש ודנני
14 [ם יש]בת שם וכן ‹שלם›[24] בימ
15 [תי בכ]ל גבל[25] עמק אדן

Col. 3
1 לממצא שמש ועד מבאי ובמקמם
2 אש כן לפנם משתעם[26] אש ישתע אד
3 ם ללכת דרך ובימתי אנך אשת תך
4 לחרי[27] על[28] פלכם בעבר בעל ובעבר
5 אלם וכן בכל ימתי שבע ומנעם
6 ושבת נעמת ונחת לב לדננים
7 ולכל עמק אדן ובן אנך ה קרת ז
8 ו‹שת[29] אנך›שמ‹י›[30] אזתודי כבעל ורשף צפרם

---

[16] Possibly miswritten for *b'm*.
[17-18] Possibly one word: *'gdrm*.
[19] Possibly *'br*.
[20] Corrected from *m'š* in A.
[21] A puts "*n*?" over the *m*.
[22] A deleted *š* in A, following the restoration.
[23] A has here a deleted sign (*k*?).
[24] Missing in the text of the Statue.
[25] The *g* corrected from *h* in A.
[26] So probably on the Statue; A: *nšt'm*.
[27] Or perhaps: *t[l]k lḥdy*.
[28] A (and photograph?): *dl*.
[29-30] Statue and A only: *wšm*.

9 שׁלחן[31] לבנת ובני אנך בעבר ב
10 על ובעבר רשף צפרם בשבע ובמנ
11 עם ובשבת נעמת ובנחת לב לכני
12 משמר לעמק אדן ולבת מפש כ בימת
13 י כן לארץ עמק אדן שבע ומנעם ובל כן
14 מתמלל בימתי לדננים ובן אנך ה
15 קרת ז ושת אנך שמי[32] אזתודי וישב
16 אנך ה אלם ז בעל כרנתריש[33] וברך
17 בעל כרנתריש אית אזתוד בח
18 ים ובשלם ובעז אדר על כל מלך
19 לתתי בעל כרנתריש לאזתוד
20 ארך ימם ורב שנת ורשאת נ[עמת]

Col. 4

1 ועז אדר ע‹ל› כּל ‹מ›לך
2 וזבח אש י‹אשם ב›אלם
3 כל המיכת (ז)[34]
4 ז זר[35] ח . . י . . ב
5 עת חדש[35a] . . . . . ר
6 ש וכם . . . . . .
7 שבע ו‹מנעם› . . . ‹בעל כרנתר›
8 יש . . . . . .
9 בעל ‹כרנתריש› ובעל ש‹מם› . . .
10 ובר‹ך› . . . ן בד ‹ע›מ‹ק›[36] אדן[37]
11 ובר‹ך כל› עבד לאזתוד‹י?› ול

---

[31] The *š* uncertain on the photographs; probably *ṣlḫn* intended.

[32] So apparently on the photographs; A first wrote *šmn*, and subsequently deleted the *n*.

[33] Possibly *d* intended rather than *r*.

[34] A: *klhmyktz* (without spatia); see below, *n*. 85.

[35] Or: *zd*; cf. n. 99.

[35a] Or: *ḥdš*.

[36] The *m* looks like *n* in A; cf. above nn. 11, 21.

[37] The *n* looks like *w* in A.

12 בת ‹מפש› בעבר בעל ובעבר ‹א›לם
13 וא‹ם מל›ך במלכם ורזן בר‹ז›נם
14 מ‹י יחמ›ד מאש אדם שם אש יא
15 מ‹ר ל›מחת שם אזתוד ה מל
16 (ל)ך[38] ז ושת שם ‹אחר›[39] אף יחמד
17 ‹אי›ת ה קרת ז ויאמר אפעל
18 ‹מפע›ל זך[35] ושת שמי על יו ז י
19 מללי[40] ה אלם אש על אזתו‹ד›י?‹›
20 ‹ב›על כרנתריש אש בב‹ת› ז וב
21 . . . ח . . . אם אש . . . א . . . ל

B. On the Lion Fragment.

1 בם[41] אנך בקצת דבל[42]
2 בן[43] לממצא שמש ועד מבאי ו
3 ם ללכת דרך ובימתי אנך אש
4 בכל ימתי שבע ומנעם ושבת
5 ושת אנך שמי[44] אזתודי
6 צפרם שלחן לבנת ובני
7 ‹ב›עבר רשף צפרם

---

[38] A: *hmllk* (dittography?).
[39] Erased(?) in A.
[40] Only bases of the letters are discernible.
[41] Miswritten for [*yr*]*dm*; cf. Text 2: 11 f.
[42] Miswritten for *gbl*[*y*]; Text 2: 13.
[43] Miswritten for [']*dn*; Text 2: 15.
[44] The *y* partly effaced.

ANALYSIS AND COMMENT

Despite the two lengthy lacunae, in col. 1 and col. 4, it is possible not only to recognize the main trend and purpose of the inscription but to delineate its topical subdivision as well. In the main, the inscription is designed to relate how the king's reign had been blessed by the gods with shining success, how it brought dominion, security, and prosperity to the king and the people—a feature characteristic of royal inscriptions of any length. In detail, we may easily discern the following division:

A. Identity of the king (1:1-3);
B. General outline of his reign (1:3-?);
C. His accomplishments in particular (2:1 to 4:12);
D. Finale (4:13-21).

Within the larger section depicting some of the king's specific accomplishments (C), we may in turn distinguish at least six contextual units. Very possibly, a seventh unit was contained in the upper part of col. 4, now almost completely obliterated. To the extent, then, to which it is preserved, the section 2:1 to 4:12 can be seen to concern itself with the following topics:

a. Defensive measures (2:1-8);
b. Conquest and resettlement of the conquered (2:8-14);
c. Inner security (2:14 to 3:5);
d. Beneficial results (3:5-?);
e. Building of a citadel (3:?-14);
f. Installation of *b'l krntryš* (3:14 to 4:?).

It will be convenient to follow the text of the inscription in terms of the above division.

A. *Identity of the King* (1:1-3).

As is the norm in royal inscriptions from the ancient Near East, whether Sumero-Akkadian or Canaanite-Aramaic, the inscription before us represents a sort of monologue, with the king speaking throughout the text[45] and, except for one or two occasions, referring to himself in the first person singular. The text opens with a

[45] Excepting perhaps the finale.

formula designed to establish the identity of the speaker—a clear proof that in the column incised on the chest of the statue we are faced with the beginning of the inscription.

The king gives his name as 'ZTWD. In a letter of March 18th, Professor Bossert states, "Nach den zwei hieroglyphenhethitischen Versionen heisst sowohl der König wie die von ihm auf dem Karatepe angelegte Stadt Asitawandas." If so, in the Semitic rendering of the name, the sibilant component appears to have been voiced, the nasal consonant assimilated to the following dental, and the final, no doubt inflexional, sibilant omitted. It would thus seem that the king's name was popularly pronounced, perhaps only by Semitic speakers, Azitawaddu or Azitawadda. A further instance of semitization of the name we shall meet below in the inscription, where reference is made to the designation of the king's citadel. It is noticeable that no mention is made of the king's father or ancestors, although farther in the text Azitawaddu does refer to the kings that ruled before him. Perhaps, then, we should infer that he was an upstart.[46] The question will interest us again later on.

The king is further identified by four appositives following his name. I take it that, in the first of these appositives, *brk* represents a passive participle, so that the phrase *brk b'l* would have a counterpart in *bĕrûḵ YHWH,* "blessed of the Lord," in Hebrew (Gen. 24:31, etc.). Since nothing is added to qualify *b'l,* the latter vocable should be understood as a proper name rather than an appelative. From the manner of reference to him throughout the inscription, we must infer that Baal was the chief god of Azitawaddu and his people. Whether we deal here with the weather and fertility god of Ugarit-Phoenicia-Palestine or whether *b'l* here is merely the Semitic equivalent of some Hittite deity (Tarxu?) is a question that may be left open for the present.

It is remarkable, however, that "blessed of Baal" is prefixed by the article *h*—a construction comparable to one found in Arabic when an adjective qualified by a substantive stands in apposition to a noun, as in the case before us.[47] Hence, no article is prefixed

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[46] Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 5: "Da der König (ZKR) keine Ahnen nennt, war er wahrscheinlich ein Usurpator."

[47] As in *zaydun al-ḥasanu 'l-wajhi*; Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* 2, 222.

to the second appositive which describes the king by a substantive in the construct: "servant of Baal." The same is true of the third appositive which consists of a substantive, "a personage," qualified by two adjectives. The second of these adjectives is missing in the autograph except for the initial consonant, '. The word was restored by Bossert to read '[*wrk*], which is not clear to me. My own restoration, '[*mn*], "trustworthy," or the like, is purely conjectural, of course.

The last appositive describes Azitawaddu as "King of the DNNYM." In the KLMW inscription from Zenjirli, the speaker states that he—that is, his country—has been "overpowered" by "the King of the D[ ]NYM," which has been restored, on independent grounds,[48] to read "King of the D[N]NYM." The restoration is now made all but certain by our inscription, since "Zenjirli lies only some 8 hours on foot to the south-east of Karatepe."[49] The pronunciation "Danunites" is based on *mat Dan-un-na*, on the obelisk of Assurnaṣirpal I, and *mat Da-nu-na* in Amarna. Since the wirter of the Amarna letter in question, Abumilki of Tyre, combines the event he reports about Danuna with the news that "fire destroyed Ugarit," there should be no room for doubt that he was dealing with localities situated in Syria.[50] It is remarkable, however, that the name "Danuna" is not mentioned anywhere in our inscription; moreover, Azitawaddu does refer to his country by name, but it is certainly not "Danuna." Accordingly, the rendering of DNNYM as "Danunites" or "Danunians" must be taken with reservation.[51]

B. *General Outline* (1:3-?).

Having identified himself in the opening formula of the inscription, Azitawaddu now proceeds to give a summary of his career as a king, perhaps merely what he considered to be the salient features of his career. He begins by saying, in effect, that it was Baal, the chief god of the national community, who appointed him to be "as a father" to his subjects, that is, as a king who rules

[48] Bossert, *Altkreta*, p. 68 (quoted in the Second Report, p. 30a).

[49] Preliminary Report, p. 13.

[50] Against F. Schachermeyr, *Reallex. d. Assyr.*, 2, 120; see the Egyptian material adduced by Schachermeyr; also in the Second Report, p. 29.

[51] For the question of different pronunciation, see below, p. 23.

with the benevolence and bountifulness of a father. Similarly, in the KLMW inscription, the king describes his regiment as that of a "father," a "mother," a "brother." Perhaps, therefore, we should fill out the lacuna of line 4 to read [*wl'm*], "and as a mother," or even [*l'm wl'ḥ*], "as a mother and as a brother." [52]

The initial word of line 5 is rendered in the autograph *yḥw*. At first sight, one might feel inclined to combine this word with Arabic *waḥā*, "to inspire, to suggest, to influence." But, in itself improbable, this would have been written in the orthography of our text *yḥ* rather than *yḥw*. More likely the word was misread, either by the stonecutter or the explorers, for *mḥw*, a participle of the intensive stem of *ḥwy* used in Phoenician in the sense of "to preserve alive, restore," here prehaps "establish." If so, we would have here—also no doubt in the phrase "Baal has made me," etc.—a hint at Azitawaddu's humble origin.[53]

Doubtful, too, is the reading]*ṣyn* given in the autograph at the beginning of line 7. In the present context, it would be natural to assume that the word involved was [*'r*]*ṣyn*, so that the king would here have referred briefly to an accomplishment—the expansion of his territory—about which he speaks with greater detail later in the inscription. In this case, however, the writing with *y* would be out of the question, whether [*'r*]*ṣ* would have been intended as a singular or as a plural. Moreover, the plural of *'rṣ* in our text is *'rṣt*, as it is elsewhere in Phoenician. We should therefore suspect here another miswriting, namely, [*'r*]*ṣyn* for [*'r*]*ṣtn*. Nor is the final *n*, in itself possible, beyond suspicion. For, in the text before us, when the king employs a first person possessive, it is always "my" (*y*) and nowhere "our" (*n*). Perhaps, then, the]*ṣyn* of the autograph should be restored and corrected to read [*'r*]*ṣty*, "my lands." [54]

The other restorations suggested in column 1 are based on

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[52] In *l'b*, the *l* would seem to introduce the second object of *p'ln*, the verb "to make" being of the kind which in Arabic may take two accusatives; e. g. *wahabanī 'llāhu fidāka*, "may God make me a ransom for thee"; Wright, 2, 49. For a close Hebrew parallel of the construction before us, cf. "and he (God) hath made me as (*lĕ*) a father to (*lĕ*) Pharaoh" (Gen. 45: 8; other examples, in Ges.-Buhl, v. *lĕ*, No. 4).

[53] That is, the king would state here in effect that he brought his rule and dynasty into life; see *GPL*, Glossary, v. *ḥwy*.

[54] Cf. "I have humbled (= conquered) mighty lands," below, 2: 8-9.

parallel passages occurring later in the text. It is noticeable that "from east to west" is expressed in our inscription by a phrase almost identical with one found repeatedly in the Old Testament: "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same" (Mal. 1:11; cf. Ps. 50:1; 103:3). Apparently the phrase was also current among the Semites of Zenjirli (PNMW 13).[55] In line 23, the *]bgy* of the autograph is open to question in view of the unusual position of the alleged *g*. The letter in question might have been intended as an inverted *l*,[56] so that the word involved would have been *[g]bly*, "my borders."

In the text of column 1, or rather in what is left of it, we meet five times with a verbal sentence in which the action is expressed by a participle standing at the beginning of the clause and followed by the pronoun first person singular: *mḥw 'nk*, *rḥb 'nk*, *p'l ['nk]*, *'n '[nk]*, *št '[nk]*. All told, the inscription contains no fewer than fifteen specimens of this construction, and the number might have been even larger had columns 1 and 4 been fully preserved. We find this construction elsewhere in Phoenician and generally in West Semitic,[57] but nowhere with the profusion and consistency exhibited in the text before us. Apparently, Azitawaddu, or rather his scribe, employs the participle as a tempus of narration; at any rate, it has seemed safe, and convenient, to render it in English as a simple perfect.

C. *Accomplishments in Particular* (2:1 to 4:12).

We cannot be sure that the section began with the first line of column 2. It may well have begun sooner. However, the rapid succession of the participle clauses in lines 5-12—"I have restored—I have expanded—and I have made—and I have humbled"—seems to indicate that the present section could not have begun much before line 15 of column 1. If it did begin with 2:1, we may assume that a spatium was provided on the stone between *wbn* and the *[y]* restored by the explorers at the beginning of the line.

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[55] Outside the present locution, "east" and "west" may be found in a younger Phoenician inscription referred to as *mṣ' ḥšmš* and *mb' ḥšmš*, respectively (*CIS* 3778, *ll.* 5-6).

[56] Used in Greek inscriptions from the Aegean (Thera, Crete, Naxos, etc.) and underlying the classical form of lambda.

[57] Cf. KLMW: *wškr 'nk*; see also Cooke, *op. cit.*, 21 f.

a. *Defensive Measures* (2:1-8). The king now relates how he protected the integrity of the land by a series of fortifications: "I have built mighty walls [58] in all the extremities (of the land), at the borders." The word for "extremities," [*qṣ*]*yt*, does not seem to occur elsewhere in Phoenician texts at our disposal, but the Hebrew counterpart, *qĕṣāwôṯ*, and the singulars *qāṣâ* and *qĕṣâṯ*,[59] in the sense of "extreme point, border, extremity," is sufficiently familiar to us from the Old Testament. Since, in what immediately follows, places are specified at which the fortifications were made, the phrase "in all extremities" should no doubt be understood in the sense of "in many extremities."

The passage specifying those places offers problems of more than one kind, and the translation suggested below is admittedly hypothetical. Only this much seems clear, that the passage consists of two statements. I understand these statements to describe, respectively, two kinds of places that threatened the integrity or sovereignty of Azitawaddu's kingdom, so that measures of defense against such places became a political necessity. First,

bmqmm b'[*š k*]*n 'šm d'm b'l.*

In view of Hebrew *'āšām*, "guilt, offense, transgression," it seems safe to render *kn 'šm* as "guilt had been committed" or "offense had occurred," perhaps even as "treason had been perpetrated," and to understand *d'm b'l* as a genitive qualifying *'šm*, that is, as an objective genitive, "offense had occurred against *d'm b'l*." Three possible explanations of the latter phrase may be taken into consideration: (1) that it is a proper name, *Dā'im Baal or *Da'am Baal, in which case we might be dealing here with the name of an official of Azitawaddu, who was his governor in some outlying district of his realm; [60] (2) that *d'm* is miswritten for *b'm* and

[58] The plural "walls," *ḥmyt*, Hebrew *ḥômôṯ*, recurs in identical formation in Ugaritic: sg. *ḥmt*, pl. *ḥmyt* (Gordon, *UG*, s. v.); see the following note.

[59] Cf. sg. *qṣt*, "extreme," below in the text (2:12); accordingly, the singular "wall" would have been *ḥmt* in the dialect of our inscription; see above, n. 58.

[60] Cf. frequent theophorous names of the type *'bdb'l*, *grb'l*, etc. (*GPL*, p. 89); for theophorous names with *d'm* as the divine element, cf. *d'mmlk*, *d'mṣlḥ*, etc. (*GPL*, p. 96); judging from the latter names, our *d'm b'l* might be the composite name of a deity (cf. Ishtar-Kemosh in Mesha) rather than that of a person.

that, accordingly, the places in question would have been ones "in which offense had occurred against the people of Baal"; [61] and (3) that *d'm* represents a plural participle construct (**dā'imē*), from a root *da'ama*, "to support, to stay, to aid," known to us from Arabic.[62] The latter understanding would seem more acceptable than the two other considerations; accordingly, the phrase should perhaps be rendered here "in places where offense (or: treason, uprisings) had occurred against the supporters of Baal."

Even more ambiguous, both in graphic and syntactic respect, is the second part of the passage before us. It might be read

'gdrm ['š b]l 'š 'br

or *'p drm ['š b]l 'š 'bd.*

In *'gdrm*, we might discern a plural of *gdr* (Hebrew *gāḏēr*), "fence, barrier," with the initial aleph being prothetic, and take the words to mean "barriers which no one could pass," so that "barriers" would form a permutative to the "mighty walls" at the beginning of the present unit.[62a] If, on the other hand, we follow the alternative reading, we might see in *drm*, "habitations, settlements, districts," a parallel to the preceding *mqmm*, "places," while *'bd* would represent an intensive perfect in the sense of "to reduce the servitude, to subjugate." [63] In favor of the latter rendering, I believe, is the immediately following phrase

kn lbt mpš,

which can hardly be anything but an asyndetic relative clause referring to *drm* in the sense just indicated. The whole part.

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[61] In this case, we would have here the same miswriting as the one actually occurring in the lion fragment, above, n. 43.

[62] Cf., as to *d'm*, Arabic locutions like *da'āim al-'islām*, "the supports of Islam," *hum da'āim qaumihim*, "they are the supports of their people" (Lane, v. *di'āmah*); and, as to the underlying religious notion, biblical utterances like "Because they came not to the help of the Lord" (Jud. 5:23).

[62a] Less likely, *'gdrm* would represent an imperfect plus suffix (referring to the "places"): "I have fenced them in that no one could pass."

[63] Nouns of the root *d-r* in the sense of "dwelling, habitation" may be found anywhere in Semitic. For the verb *'bd* in the sense suggested above, cf. Hebrew *he'ĕḇîḏ*, the noun *'aḇdûṯ*; Aramac *'abbeḏ*; Arabic *'abbadahu*, "he enslaved him," etc.

then, may be rendered, at least tentatively: "also (in) districts that no one had subjugated, which belonged to Bet Mupsh."

Although we cannot be certain about the precise connotation of *bt mpš*, which occurs again later on, its general significance is quite clear. Bossert indeed maintains, in a letter of March 18th, that in the Hittite versions of our text Azitawaddu says "dass er aus dem Hause des Mopsos stamme," adding "dieser Name ist uns aus griechischen Quellen für einen halb sagenhaften Kilikischen König geläufig." In a subsequent communication, of April 8th, Bossert states that, in the Hittite versions, the equivalent of *bt mpš* "kein geographischer Begriff sein kann," since "an allen Stellen das Städte-determinatif fehlt"; and that the context, too, appears to indicate "dass der Verfasser der Inschrift mit dem 'Haus des Mopsos' seine eigene Dynastie meint."

It should be borne in mind, however, that we deal here with a locution in which the presence or absence of a determinative ought not to be taken too seriously. While the word *bt*, when serving as a classifier, might mean "dynasty," as, e. g. in "the House of David," it is very often employed in both an ethnic sense, "clan, tribe, people," and a geographic sense, that is, to denote the territory of the clan, tribe, or people, in question. It is therefore altogether thinkable that the "House of Mopsos" in the Hittite versions refers to the people, or the tribe or clan, of Mops, and hence the absence of a place-determinative, while *bt mpš* in the text before us is an exact counterpart of Assyrian *bīt xumrī*, "Omri Land, Samaria," Hebrew *bêṯ yiśrā'ēl*, "Palestine" (as, e. g., in Jer. 31:27), Syriac *bēṯ 'ārāmāyē*, "Assyria." It would be remarkable indeed, if Azitawaddu was the scion of a dynasty, that he should have made no reference to it in the opening lines of the inscription, where it would have been most appropriate.

From the beginning, and even before being aware of the reference supplied by the Hittite versions, I felt fairly safe in considering *bt mpš* as a territorial possession of Azitawaddu, situated at the border of his realm, and to identify the name with the Greek "Mopsouestia," the Mampista-Mansista of Byzantine writers, and the Mansis-Missis of Turkish times.[64] The city of Mopsouestia is situated some fifteen miles due east of Adana, and the Greek name

[64] See W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), p. 281, n.*; p. 385; and the map opposite p. 330.

has generally been understood by scholars as "Mopsou[h]estia," which looks like a literal rendering of *bt mpš*. On general grounds, too, it would be more probable that the legend of a hero named "Mopsos" was derived from the ethnicon "Mopsouestia" than that this name—demonstrated by our inscription to be of much greater antiquity than that of the historical Greek period of Kilikia—should have been coined after an alleged hero known only in Greek legend.[65]

Taken as a whole, the passage dealing with Azitawaddu's measures of defense may be analyzed as follows. He constructed "mighty walls" or "barriers" at certain outlying territories of his land, thereby aiming at two objectives: (1) to put an end to "offenses" or "uprisings" that had been perpetrated against the "supporters of Baal," presumably, by "supporters" of a hostile god—which might be a mere diplomatic way of referring to border skirmishes between his own subjects and those of a foreign power; (2) to subjugate certain unwieldly "districts" or "habitations" contiguous to his territorial possession of Bet Mupsh. Both objectives we are told had been accomplished. In the king's own words "I did put them—*štnm*—under my heels," the "them" apparently pointing to the "places" and "districts" just specified. His ultimate objective, however, was to enable his subjects, the "Danunites," to inhabit those places and districts—*lšbtnm*—in complete security or, as he puts it, [*bnḥt*] *lbnm*, "in their ease of heart."

We notice that the pronominal suffix of the third person plural is *nm* and that it forms a direct object of the perfect, *štnm*, and of the infinitive, *lšbtnm*, as well as a possessive, *lbnm*, a feature peculiarly characteristic of Phoenician. It is striking, however, that the infinitive of an intransitve verb, such as *šbt*, from *yšb*, "to sit, to dwell," should here be made to take a direct object,

[65] In the main, the argument in favor of the authenticity of the Greek legend is based on the fact that "the name of Mopsuhestia and the legend of its foundation by Mopsus after the Trojan War were known to Theopompus" (A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [Oxford, 1937], p. 193). However, if the date of our inscription deduced below be acceptable—which, in view of the Hittite duplicates, would seem a rather conservative date—the testimony of Theopompus (b. c. 380 B. C.) would be some 500 years younger than that of the Karatepe inscription.

as if it was a transitive.[66] We shall meet with this phenomenon repeatedly in what follows.

b. *Conquest and Resettlement* (2:8-14). Like the preceding unit (*wbn 'nk*), so here again the unit begins with the participle construction (*w'n 'nk*), the verb in both instances being of the tertiae infirmae class. While apparently not found employed elsewhere in Phoenician, the verb involved is clearly identical with Hebrew *'ānâ*, "to be humble, lowly," "to oppress, to afflict" (intensive). Here, however, it obviously denotes oppression or affliction of an enemy by military conquest and invasion; and in precisely this sense the verb is used in Moabitic (Mesha 5;6). Since nothing is said about the identity of the conquered, beyond the vague reference to "mightly lands in the west," we may infer that Azitawaddu's conquests were of a moderate, perhaps local, nature. He is, however, boastful enough to say that those lands had not been humbled by any "of the kings that were before me." We recall that this feature of a king making light of the achievements of his predecessors abounds in the KLMW inscription, where we even find something of a verbal parallel (ll. 9-10: *hmlkm hlpnym*) of the phrase used by Azitawaddu (*hmlkm 'š kn lpny*).

The particular interest of the present unit is that it reveals Azitawaddu as having adopted a policy toward conquered subjects that was practised on so wide a range by the Assyrians—the policy of deporting vanquished peoples from their native lands and of resettling them elsewhere. A concise description of this policy is given by BR RKB of Zenjirli when, in a passage concerning the reign of a successful king—it is not clear whether BR RKB refers to his overlord Tiglath-pileser or to his own father PNMW—he says, "And the daughters of the east he moved to the west, and the daughters of the west he moved to the east." In the inscription before us, too, the movement is expressed in terms of "east" and "west."

The procedure is described in three brief clauses: (1) Azitawaddu

[66] I take it that in *lšbtnm dnnym* we have a construction of the type *al-qaṭlu 'axāhu maḥmūdun*, "Maḥmūd's killing his brother" (cf. Wright, 2, 58 f.). It is possible, however, that *šbt* here has causative force (as in *yšbm 'nk*, 2:12), in which case *dnnym* would stand in the accusative rather than the nominative: "in order to make the Danunites inhabit them (those places)."

made the peoples he had "humbled" leave their homes in the west; literally, "I have made them go down," *yrdm 'nk*—a locution easily understandable in a mountainous country where cities are habitually built on an elevation, so that to leave one's home is to "go down," (2) he then moved them to some remote corners in the eastern part of his country: "I have settled them—*yšbm 'nk*—in the extreme of my borders in the east"; (3) lastly, he made his own citizens colonize the conquered areas in the west: "and I have made the Danunites dwell there," *wdnym yšbt šm*.

In contrast to what we have seen in the preceding text unit, the pronominal suffix of the third person plural is here now *nm*, *'ntnm*, "I did humble them," now *m*, *yrdm 'nk*, "I have made them go down," *yšbm 'nk*, "I have settled them." As it happens, these are the only instances, in the text before us, of participles with a pronominal suffix of the third plural; also, the only occurrences of the *m*-suffix—unless the ambiguous case in 2:3 should have been intended, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, as *'gdrm*, in the sense of "I have fenced them in." Accordingly, it is impossible to say whether, in the dialect or our inscription, *-m* was reserved for the participle, or whether it could be used interchangeably with *-nm*, as it is so used elsewhere in Phoenician.[67]

Consistently, the verbs found in the present unit take a direct object, and thus function as transitives or even as intensive-causitives, although all of those verbs are used elsewhere in Semitic as intransitives only: the participle (*'n*) and the perfect (*'ntnm*) of *'ny*, "to be humble, lowly"; the participle (*yrdm*) of *yrd*, "to go down"; the particple (*yšbm*) and the perfect (*yšbt*) of *yšb*, "to sit, to dwell."

c. *Inner Security* (2:14 to 3:5). One or two inadvertent omissions, several paleographic ambiguities, and an unfamiliar locution unite to obscure the details of this contextual unit, without, however, affecting its admirable lucidity and simplicity as a whole. To begin with, in the initial clause, we miss the subject of *kn*, "there was." The simplest assumption would be that a word such as *šlm*, "submission, security, peace"—used in the text later on (3:18, *wbšlm*)—was inadvertently omitted by the scribe or by the stonecutter. The only question is whether the word would have

[67] Excepting only the dialect of Byblos; cf. *GPL*, 49 ff.

followed immediately after *kn* or after *bymty*, as in 3:2 (*wkn bkl ymty šb'*).

Thus, having described the success of his foreign policy in defense and offense, the king now states that he succeeded in establishing law and order within his own realm as well. "And there prevailed [security] in my days throughout all the borders of the Plain of Adan, from the east even to the west." If in the phrase "throughout all the borders," *bkl gbl*, the word *gbl* is a singular, rather than a plural, construct, we would have here an exact parallel of the *bĕḵōl gĕḇûl* frequently used in Hebrew in the sense of "throughout the land"; for example, "of Egypt" (Exod. 10:14, 19), "of Israel" (I Kings 1:3), etc.

The important thing is that we come here, for the first time in our text, upon "the Plain of Adan," which quite obviously—in view of "from the east even to the west"—is used in the inscription as the geographic designation of Azitawaddu's kingdom.[68] Nor is there any good reason to doubt that the name *'dn* is identical with that of the modern city Adana, situated some 35 miles west of Kadirli, which is also the name of the city in Greek and Byzantine times and which, as we have seen, has been identified with the Adaniya of the cuneiform texts from Boghazköy.[69] It goes without saying that our *'dn* may very well have been pronounced "Adana" or else "Adanu" at the time of the inscription. Remarkable, however, it is that Azitawaddu's subjects derived their name from a word *dnn*, while their country was called *'dn*—a circumstance that would make one wonder whether we deal here with different formations of one and the same name, and whether *dnnym* should not be rendered "Dananites" rather than "Danunites." The latter rendering would be justified if the "Danuna" mentioned above is actually identical with the territory ruled by Azitawaddu, but then the question would arise as to what may be said to be the connection between "Danuna" and "Adana."

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[68] This becomes especially clear from the reference to *'rṣ 'mq 'dn*, "the land of the Plain of Adan," later in the text (3:13). Apparently, then, *'mq* is part of the name, as it is in many Hebrew place names; it may even become the sole designation of a place, as "the 'Emeq" (of Jezreel) or "the King of *'mq*" (the modern *al-'Amq*) in the ZKR inscription. Does, perhaps, the Greek "Cilicia of the plain" (Kilikia Pedias) paraphrase our *'mq 'dn*?

[69] See above, n. 6.

To illustrate the inner security that now prevails, Azitawaddu cites the case of places that formerly were "dreadful," so that a person "would dread" to travel through them. The word for "would dread" is *yšt'*, which is no doubt a reflexive imperfect from the root *š-'*, used in Hebrew in the intensive, in the sense of "to cry for help"; while the word for "dreadful" is given in the autograph as *nšt'm*, which, if correct, would represent the plural participle of a Nt stem of that root. From the photograph, however, it would appear that the word intended could very well have been *mšt'm*, as we would have expected. It is noteworthy that in Hebrew, too, places may be described as "fearful," or "dreadful," by means of a reflexive participle (*nôrâ*), as in "fearful wilderness" (Deut. 1:19), "dreadful land" (Is. 21:1); and that in the Deborah Song (Jud. 5:6) the bad state of affairs in the past is illustrated by the fact that "Caravans ceased, and those who travelled the roads went by roundabout paths" (Moore).

Once again we come upon a troublesome passage of the kind we have met above. In contrast to the "dreadful" situation that prevailed in the past, the king describes the security of the present by saying

wbymty 'nk 'št tk lḥdy
(= lḥry?) dl (= 'l?) plkm.

The interpretation of the passage hinges on whether *'nk* is taken to reinforce the preceding word or whether it is understood as intended to emphasize what follows. If the king meant to say *wbymty 'nk*, "but in my own days," the following *'št* might be the word for "wife," here perhaps "woman," and *tk* would then represent a feminine imperfect, of a doubly weak verb, which together with the following three vocables would have formed a statement to the effect that conditions "on the highways" (*'l plkm*) have now become safe even for a woman.[70]

If, however, the king intended to say *'nk 'št*, we would be bound

[70] Prof. H. L. Ginsberg has indeed suggested to me (orally) that we should read *'št t[l]k lḥdy*, that is, "a woman may walk alone." This is very tempting indeed, except that we would have here an element peculiarly characteristic of Aramaic, where *lĕḥōḏ* (Targum) or *lĕḥūḏ* (Syriac) plus a pronominal suffix is commonly used in the sense of "alone," literally: "by myself, by himself," etc., while in the instance before us *lḥdy* would of course mean "by herself," the suffix referring to "a woman." We would thus be faced here with the sole Aramaism of the inscription.

to see in *'št* an imperfect first person of the root (*š-t*) that recurs throughout the inscription. In favor of the latter alternative would seem to be a similar use made of *'nk* elsewhere in the text, as in *'nk 'ztwd štnm* (2:5) and *'nk 'ztwd 'ntnm* (2:11). I would therefore propose that the passage be rendered "but in my days, I do put restraint to strife (*ḥry*) upon the highways."[71] Nor is it difficult to see how *'l* should have come to look like *dl*. A mere slip of the stonecutter's chisel is all that would have been needed to bring about the confusion; or his *Vorlage* may have shown an inadvertent flourish at the bottom of the sign for *'*—a flourish of the kind that was to become in later times (Nabataean, square Hebrew) a standard feature of the *'ayin* symbol.[72]

The king winds up the description concerning the security within his realm with a formula-like phrase that occurs twice again, once with a variant, later in the text:

b'br b'l wb'br 'lm.

It is just barely possible that we should read *b'bd*, "by (the help of) the servant of" or "by the servants of," but the possibility is a remote one and may be discarded at least for the present. Much more likely, the element before us is the same which in Hebrew (*ba'ăḇûr*) serves as a preposition, "because of, for the sake of," and as a final conjunction, "in order that."

Since, as we shall see, "god" is expressed in this inscription by the plural *'lm*, rather than the singular *'l*, the above phrase might perhaps intend to say "because of Baal and because of El"—the two highest gods known in the pagan vocabulary of the Northern Semites. It seems safer, however, to recognize *'lm* here as an

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[71] The word *tk*, "restraint," would clearly derive from *tkk* used in Phoenician in the sense of "to harass, oppress" (*GPL*, p. 155); cf. Hebrew *tōk*, "suppression," Syriac *tāk*, "to restrain, to keep within bonds"; *'aṭīk*, "to put a stop to." In *ḥry* we would have a verbal noun (*ḥuryu*?) cognate with Hebrew *ḥŏrî*, "anger, wrath," Aramaic *ḥeryān* (Syriac), "strife," from a root *ḥry*, "to be angry, wrathful," reflexive (in Hebrew and Syriac), "to quarrel, to strive."

[72] For the preposition in *'l plkm*, cf. *'l gblm*, above 2:2, and *'l yw z*, below 4:18. On the basis of our *plkm*, the phrase *bplg l'dk* in the Umm al-'Awāmid inscription, usually translated "in the district of Laodicaea" (Cooke, *op. cit.*, 45) should be taken to mean "on the road of L."; elsewhere in Semitic, forms of *plk* are used for "district," while forms of *plg* are found to denote "district, division, stream, ditch, canal."

actual plural, in the sense of the *ilm* || *bn qdš* of the Ugaritic texts.[73] In other words, we may understand the formula to convey that the inner security achieved by the king was in the nature of a sacred truce, endorsed and sanctioned, perhaps even decreed, not only by the chief god, Baal, but by all the other gods of the national community. One or two of these gods, presumably subordinate to Baal, we shall meet presently.

d. *Beneficial Results* (3:5-7). Azitawaddu is now in a position to recount the benefits which his "fatherly" reign has brought upon his subjects. As a result of his strong policy, both foreign and domestic, the country enjoyed a period of great prosperity. "Thus there was in all my days abundance, and well-being, and pleasant habitation, and ease of heart, unto the Danunites and unto all the Plain of Adan." In "pleasant habitation," we come upon an intransitive use of *šbt*, in contrast to the transitive use of the word noted above. Obviously, *ldnnym wlkl 'mq 'dn* is Azitawaddu's way of saying "to the people and to all the land."

e. *Building of a Citadel* (3:7-14). We come here upon a subject matter which seems to be the major theme of the inscription or, at any rate, of the large section dealing with the king's achievements. Properly speaking, matters appertaining to the building of the citadel form the topic of both this and the following unit, thus occupying fully two-thirds of col. 3 and a smaller or larger part of col. 4. Perhaps, then, the document before us should be classed as a buliding inscription, that is, as a royal building inscription.

Here again the subject is introduced by the participle construction: *wbn 'nk h qrt z*, "And I have built this citadel," the demonstrative "this" indicating that the statue was to be placed in the immediate proximity of the main structure of, or of the entrance to, the citadel.[74] The word *qrt*, well known from its frequent use in Phoenician and Punic place names, is usually rendered "city," but here apparently we should understand it as "stronghold, citadel." On the statue, the immediately following words read *wšm 'ztwdy*, which could be tolerably taken to mean "and the

[73] See, e.g., 2D 1:3-4, etc., and the writer's analysis in Supplement to *JAOS*, No. 2, 1946, p. 8b.

[74] On demonstratives in votive and building inscriptions, cf. *JAOS*, 61, p. 45; see below, n. 102.

name (thereof) is *'ztwdy*. This, however, is extremely improbable and would suggest an error on the part of the stonecutter or of the scribe. Fortunately, the correct reading is offered by the lion fragment and, as we shall see presently, by a parallel on the statue itself.

It seems therefore quite certain that *wšm 'ztwdy* should be corrected to read

w[št 'nk] šm[y] 'ztwdy,

"and I have named it (literally: I have put its name as) *'ztwdy*." It need hardly be said that naming of a "city" after the name of its ruler or its builder is a well-known phenomenon throughout the ancient Near East; but rather than leaving the personal proper name unaltered, as in the case of Enoch (Gen. 4:17), or prefixing a classifier to it, as in *dūr šarrukīn*, "City of Sargon," the king here coins a name for his citadel by means of a *nisbe*, a Semitic adjectival formation, of his own non-Semitic name. Just how this formation was pronounced is not quite clear. Since in our inscription no vowels, whether short or long, are represented graphically (witness, for final long vowels, the writing *p'ln, bn, z*) a name such as "Azitawaddī" would not have been written with *y*—unless indeed a mater lectionis was employed here by the scribe as a device by which to differentiate the name of the citadel from that of the king. Otherwise, we would have to assume that the name was pronounced "Azitawaddīyu" or perhaps "Azitawaddīya," that is, a popular pronunciation of "Azitawaddīyat" (as in Arabic *anṭākiya*, "Antioch," or *lāḏiqīya*, "Laodicea"),[75] in agreement with the feminine gender of *qrt*, "city, citadel."

Two gods, the king goes on to say, were instrumental in the building of the citadel: Baal and *ršp ṣprm*. A god named *ršp*, "Reshef" or "Rashuf," has long been known from Phoenician inscriptions that were found on Cyprus; he is also mentioned, prominently, in one of the Zenjirli inscriptions (Hadad 2;3), and in recent years references to a god by this name have been found in the cuneiform tablets from Ras Shamra. In view of the Biblical *bĕnê rešep̄* that "fly upward" (Job 5:7), where *rešep̄* is rendered by the Septuagint as *gups*, "vulture,"—supported by the rabbinical equation of *rĕšāp̄îm* (Ps. 78:48) with "birds,"—it would be

[75] Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, 1, 397, n. 1.

tempting to see in *ṣprm* a plural of *ṣpr*, "bird," and to render *ršp ṣprm* as "Reshef of the Birds."[76] It is remarkable, however, that in the Phoenician inscriptions the god *ršp* is frequently qualified by a place name, which would suggest a similar connotation in the instance before us.[77] It has therefore seemed advisable to leave the qualifying element untranslated and to render the phrase simply as "Reshef ṢPRM." We shall meet with the god again within the present text unit.

The connection of the two gods with the building of the citadel is indicated by the words: "for Baal and Reshef ṢPRM have sent me to build (it).[78] The word for "sent me" is indubitable only in the lion fragment: *šlḥn*. If this be the original reading we might understand "sent me" in the sense of "ordered me." Judging from the photograph, however, the intended word might well have been *ṣlḥn*. A locution involving the word *ṣlḥ* in the causative, with God as the agent, is frequently employed in Scripture, as in "seeing the Lord hath prospered (*hiṣlîaḥ*) my way." (Gen. 24:56), and once even in connection with building activity, as in "and prosper thou, and build" (I Chr. 22:11). It is quite possible, therefore, that what Azitawaddu said was "for Baal and Reshef ṢPRM have prospered me to build."[79]

It would seem indeed that the reading *ṣlḥn*, "prospered me," is borne out by the great stress put on prosperity in connection with the building of the citadel. The king continues to say: "So I have built it (*wbny*: a participle with the pronominal suffix of the third person singular), because of Baal and because of Reshef ṢPRM, in abundance, and well-being, and pleasant habitation, and ease of heart"—apparently a standard sequence used by our scribe to depict a state of complete prosperity, perhaps indeed a state

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[76] Apparently, *ršp* is used for "bird" also in Sirach 42:17, perhaps also in *ibid.* v. 14; see Charles, a. l., cf. Ges.-Buhl, *s. v.*

[77] See Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 56 f.; a place name *ṣprm* would have its counterpart in the *ṣippôrîn*, "Sepphoris," of northern Palestine.

[78] This rendering of *šlḥn lbnt* was suggested to me, in conversation, by Professor G. L. Della Vida.

[79] In favor of *ṣlḥn* would also be the fact that *ṣlḥ* (but not *šlḥ*) may be found in Phoenician theophorous names, such as *b'lṣlḥ*, *'šmnṣlḥ*; cf. also the Phoenician personal name *mṣlḥ*; *GPL*, p. 141. I believe, too, that the reading *ṣlḥn* would well account for the absence of a pronominal suffix to qualify the following infinitive.

of prosperity believed to be the characteristic gift of Baal and Reshef. We notice that the formula *b'br... wb'br*, "because of . . . and because of," carries here a shade of meaning unlike that which we have found it to carry in what precedes (2:4). Obviously, the building of the citadel was carried out, not by the restraining will of the gods, as was the truce of inner security, but rather by their benevolent and bountiful attitude. That the formula could be applied both ways we may infer from the use of *ba'ăḇûr* in the Old Testament (cf. Gen. 18:29 ff. and *ibid.* 12:16).

Still depending on "And I have built it," the king now points to the political purpose of the undertaking. The citadel was built, he says, "In order that it be a bulwark to the Plain of Adan and to Bet Mupsh," that is, a "bulwark" or "safeguard" both to his country proper and to his outlying territorial possession which, as we have seen, was vulnerable because of the unwieldy districts contiguous to it. It is doubtful, however, whether the "bulwark" here is meant in a military or strategic sense of the word. Rather it would seem that the word is used by the king in a subjective, psychological sense, in the manner in which words like "fortress," "shelter," "refuge" are often used in the Bible. Such an understanding would appear to be suggested by the manner in which the king winds up the lengthy statement: "For in my days there was abundance and well-being unto the land of the Plain of Adan, and there was none seeking to cut off—*mtmll*—the Danunites in my days." [80] In other words, the economic and political success of Azitawaddu's reign would make the citadel he has now built for himself a *mšmr*, a source of reliance and trust, for his subjects.

f. *Installation of Baal KRNTRYŠ* (3:14 to 4:?). Because of the mutilation of the upper part of col. 4, it is impossible to say how much of that column was included in the present unit, that is, in the passage beginning on 3:14. To the extent to which it is preserved, the passage is concerned with a god named *b'l krntryš* or, rather, with the relationship between this god and Azitawaddu. It is striking, however, that the passage begins with the same two clauses with which, we have seen, the preceding passage must be understood to have begun: "And I have built this citadel, and

[80] In *mtmll . . . ldnnym*, the preposition *l* points to the direction of the action expressed by *mtmll*; cf. *ykbd l* in KLMW (14, 15), and Ges.-Buhl, v. *lĕ*, No. 3a; for the analysis of *mtmll*, see below, p. 37.

I have named it Azitawaddiya." Since a dittography of this kind is not likely, it would appear that the king was careful to report his building of the citadel twice; first, with regard to the general prosperity provided by Baal and Reshef, which has made the building possible; second, with regard to the king's personal good fortune vouchsafed by the god he had installed in the citadel. From Azitawaddu's point of view, then, the present passage continues to deal with the subject matter of the citadel, namely, with its particular aspect as the new seat of Baal KRNTRYŠ.

It is this aspect that the king refers to immediately following the repetition just mentioned; namely, "And I have built this citadel, and I have named it Azitawaddiya,"

wyšb 'nk h 'lm z b'l krntryš,

"and I have installed this god Baal KRNTRYŠ." That a plural, even prefixed by the article (*h 'lm*), is used for "god" is in remarkable agreement with the same usage in Hebrew, as well as Phoenician, not only for the God of Israel but also for other gods, for example, for the god of Moab (Jud. 11:24). As in the case of "this citadel," so also in that of "this god" we should infer that the king's statue was placed in immediate proximity to an image of the god, as well as in the proximity of the citadel.[81] This is no doubt why nothing is said as to just where the god was installed; nor is a particle used, such as "here" or "there." Unfortunately, the identity of the god is entirely obscure. One cannot help suspecting, however, that *krntryš* is a place name, the god's designation thus being "Baal of KRNTRYŠ."[82] If so, it is tempting to assume that the particular place was the king's former home, and that he now transported the god from his old topos to "install" him in the newly built citadel. In contrast, therefore, to Baal and Reshef, who are apparently community gods, the Baal of K. would have been the king's personal patron. Thus we would understand why so much is said about his benefits in connection with the citadel, the king's particular achievement.

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[81] See below, n. 102, and above, n. 74.

[82] Of course, one of the two "*r*," or both, might be "*d*." I am informed by Professor Joh. Friedrich, in a letter of April 20, that both he and Prof. A. Alt are now inclined to see in *krntryš* "einen kleinasiatischen Ortsnamen auf *-tariyaš*(?)"; and that "das griechische Kelenderis, an das Alt erinnert, könnte vielleicht die jüngere Form sein."

There follows, at any rate, a markedly emphatic tribute to the installed god in the form of a recounting of the manifold blessings he had bestowed upon the king—a recounting made redundant by synonyms and repetition. We realize at first glance that the series "abundance, well-being" is now replaced by a new series, "life, peace, might," as if to stress here benefits other than those granted by Baal and Reshef. We notice, too, that unlike his manner of reference in "Baal has made me" (1:3) and "Baal and Reshef ṢPRM have sent me" or "have prospered me" (3:8-9), the king now, and now only, refers to himself in the third person, possibly as a token of his particular deference to this particular god: "And Baal KRNTRYŠ has blessed Azitawaddu with life and peace and mighty power over every king." Again, in what immediately follows: "in order that he, Baal KRNTRYŠ, grant unto Azitawaddu long days and many years and pl[easant] authority and mighty power ov[er] every [k]ing and priest who would [commit a fault against] this god."[83]

Admittedly, the restoration "who [would commit a fault against]" is wholly conjectural.[84] But some such phrase as this is strongly suggested by the subordinate clause introduced by *ltty*, which must be seen to point to the aim or purpose of the blessings just recounted, as similarly in the two other instances of *l* followed by an infinitive which we have met above: *lšbtnm* (2:7) and *lkny* (3:11). The peculiar implication would thus be that the god had blessed the king "with life," etc., for the purpose of providing him with the means, "long days," etc., by which he would gain superiority over any offender of the god and, ipso facto, over his own offenders. This fusion of the affairs of state with the will of deity, of political ambition and religious loyalty, is especially marked in the passage before us, but is transparent throughout the

[83] In *ltty b'l krntryš*, the name of the god forms an appositive to the pronominal suffix; cf. the writer's *Ugaritic Mythology*, p. 51, and n. 84. The word *rš't*, "authority," or "dominion," is obviously to be combined with Hebrew *rišyôn*, "permission," and Mishnaic *rāšûṯ*, "power, authority," *hiršâ*, "to authorize, to empower"; cf. *raššā'î*, "empowered." I believe that in *zbḥ*, used in Phoenician for "sacrifice-priest," we have a (derisive?) allusion to the custom of Assyrian kings of referring to themselves by the epitaph *šangû*, "priest," more specifically *šangû ilAšur*, "priest of the (god) Assur"; cf. below, n. 128.

[84] The choice of the verb, *y*[*'šm*], is suggested by the *kn 'šm*, above 2:3.

inscription, and not at all unusual in royal inscriptions of the ancient Near East in general.

Of the rest of the passage, down to line 12, little can be said with any degree of safety.[85] If the suggested restorations be correct, the concluding lines of the pasage (ll. 10-12) would appear to summarize the combined benefits of the gods bestowed upon the people and especially, it would seem, upon the officials of the kingdom, called here "servants." In line 9, we would have an interesting juxtaposition of the king's particular god, Baal [KRNTRYŠ], with the national god, called here the Baal of He[avens]. In view of the formula "because of Baal and because of the gods" (in l. 12) the preceding *br*[*k*] (in l. 11 and l. 12) would have to be understood as a passive, whether in a declarative sense "blessed was" or in an optative sense "blessed be." Especially noteworthy is the order in which those "blessed" are mentioned: (1) "the community(?)[86] of the Plain of Adan"; (2) "every servant of (literally: unto) Azitawaddu" or "Azitawaddīya"; (3) "and (every servant) of (= unto) Bet [Mupsh]."[87]

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[85] Especially vexing is the legend of line 3: *klhmyktz*. By way of a desperate conjecture, I suggest that the phrase intended was *kl hmykt*, and that *z* is merely in the nature of a caret, the stonecutter thus indicating that the phrase (which he had omitted inadvertently) belonged in l. 4, immediately preceding *zr*. The passage would thus have read originally: *'š y*['*šm b*]'*lm z kl hmykt zr*, "who would [commit a fault against] this god, (even) anyone who would maliciously devise outrage." For the syntax, cf. Hebrew *kol hâ'ôśê mĕlâḵâ*, "whosoever doeth any work" (Exod. 31: 15); *wĕ-haddôḇrîm ra'*, "and those who speak evil" (Ps. 109: 20); cf. *ḥôšḇê ra'*, "they that devise evil" (Prov. 14: 22). In *mykt* we would then have an intensive participle of *ykt*, which might be combined with Arabic *mauqūt*, "malevolent," *wakīt*, "calumniating"; on *zr* (which would appear to be used in our text both as a substantive and an adjective, like Hebrew *ra'*, "evil"), see below, p. 36, and n. 99.

[86] Or perhaps "clients"? cf. *GPL*, p. 85; if "community" was really intended it is strange that this rather than a more common word, such as "people" (*'m*), should have been chosen by the scribe. Does perhaps *bd 'mq 'dn* mean "the (Phoenician) colony of the Plain of Adan"?

[87] The division between the officials of Azitawaddu and those of Bet Mupsh would seem to be indicated by the use of the preposition "unto"; otherwise the scribe would presumably have used a simple genitive (*'bd 'ztwd*[*y*?] *wbt mpš*).

D. *The Finale* (4:13-21).

Beforehand, we might have expected to find somewhere in this text a certain statement that could hardly have been missing in an inscription of the kind before us. I am referring to the well-known custom of scribes of incorporating in such inscriptions as this a sort of prophylactic formula, that is, a formula designed to guard the integrity of a given inscription as well as of the monument to which it appertains, and to protect it against future seizure, damage, or abuse. The early realization that we deal here with the column which concludes the inscription had led me to suspect that the formula in question must have stood at the end of this column.[88] This has now proved to be actually the case, notwithstanding the all-but-hopeless state of preservation in which col. 4 lies before us. As in the upper half of the column, so here again we are faced with numerous uncertainties and lacunae, and there is no denying that some of the suggested readings and restorations are open to question. I am satisfied, however, that there is no room for doubt that what stands here is our scribe's version of the prophylactic formula.

In the nature of the formula, and in keeping with its occurrences elsewhere, the passage represents a conditional sentence. The opening words *w'*[*m ml*]*k bmlkm wrzn br*[*z*]*nm* yield a close counterpart of the beginning of the formula employed in the Ahiram inscription: *w'l mlk bmlkm wskn bsknm*. We may take it, then, that in Phoenician our *rzn* was synonymous with *skn*, both vocables occurring in the Old Testament in the sense of "prince, governor, official," or the like. Possibly, the initial word of the passage before us should be restored to read *w'*[*l*], as in Ahiram, rather than *w'*[*m*].[89]

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[88] In most of the known instances, the formula is found to conclude the legend of a given inscription both in Canaanite-Aramaic and Sumero-Akkadian; see also below, n. 98. In certain instances—especially, it would seem, in tomb inscriptions—the prophylactic formula occupies the major part of the text; so, e.g., Ahiram, Tabnith (ll. 6-8), Eshmun-'azar (ll. 4-12 and 20-22), Nerab I (ll. 5-14). It would seem that avariciousness manifested in robbing the tombs of the mighty was more acute than the political or religious motive leading to the profanation of a potentate's votive or building inscription.

[89] The meaning of *w'l*, however, is not altogether certain (Dussaud: "s'(il est)"; Torrey: "to").

The above phrase, "And if ever a king among kings and a prince among princes," forms a casus pendens, the subject of the protasis being permutated in the following

m[y yḥm]d m'š 'dm šm

"whoever (it be that) would covet the human statue there." The indefinite relative pronoun *my*, "whoever," recurs as the agent of the prophylactic formula also in the KLMW inscription (l. 15), while its Aramaic equivalent, *mn*, is used on the ZKR stele.[90] The restoration *[yḥm]d*, "would covet," is suggested by the occurrence of this word below in our passage. I believe that *m'š* is to be identified with *mš*, "statue," found in the Elibaal inscription and, presumably, also in Hebrew (2 Kings 23:12).[91] The writing with ' has hitherto been known only from Neo-Punic inscriptions, but its appearance here would suggest a much more tangible etymology of the vocable than has been advanced hitherto; namely, that it is to be combined with Akkadian *uššū*, Aramaic **'uššā*, "base, fundament, foundation." In this case, the initial consonant would, of course, be a preformative, **ma'ašš*, which could easily have become *māšš*, as in *m'n*>*mn*, "vessel."[92] The phrase *m'š 'dm* may therefore be taken to mean "the human statue," as *m'š 'lm*, "the divine statue," in a Neo-Punic inscription;[93] or else "the statue of a person," that is, "someone's statue," referring to the ambition of an imaginary coveter who would "desire, covet," *yḥmd*, Azitawaddu's statue for himself.[93a]

There follows a relative clause depending on "whoever (it be

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[90] As similarly elsewhere in Semitic, the *my* of our inscription should be understood in the sense of *my 'š*, just as the *mn* of the ZKR text in the sense of *mn zy*.

[91] For the Elibaal inscription, see R. Dussaud, *Syria* VI (1925), p. 109; for the probable occurrence of the vocable in Hebrew, see the reference to Ben Iehuda's *Thesaurus* in *GPL*, p. 122.

[92] Cf., as to the semantic implication, Hebrew *mûsāḏ*, "foundation, erection," from *yāsaḏ*, "to found, to build up"; of course, our *m'š* may have been formed from the root **'šš* rather than a noun; cf. Arabic *'assa*, "to found, to lay a base, to build a foundation."

[93] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3, p. 60 f. ("diese Gottesstatue").

[93a] In either case, *šm*, "there," would have to be understood in the sense of Lat. "ibi," German "da, daselbst," unlike the use of the particle above, 2:14, where it apparently refers to points of some distance (Azitawaddu's conquests in the "west").

that) " and specifying two hypothetical actions on the part of a future coveter; and then another protasis is introduced closely paralleling the preceding one. The elaborate construction becomes clear when the alternate protases, A and B, as well as their syntactic correspondents (a, b, c) are placed in juxtaposition:

A (ll. 14-16)	B (ll. 16-18)
(a) *m[y yḥm]d m'š 'dm šm*	(a) *'p yḥmd ['y]t qrt z* [95]
(b) *'š y'm[r l]mḥt šm 'ztwd hmlk z* [94]	(b) *wy'mr 'p'l [mp']l zr*
(c) *wšt šm ['ḥr]*	(c) *wšt šmy 'l yw z*

which may be rendered as follows:

(a) " whoever (it be that) would covet the human statue there,	(a) even (if) he would covet this citadel,
(b) who would presume to efface this name of Azitawaddu the king,[96]	(b) and would say, ' I shall do a contemptible [dee]d,'
(c) and would put (on it) [another] name;	(c) and would put his name beside (over) this."

We notice that identical finite verbs (*yḥmd, y'mr, št*) are used in corresponding syntactic positions in both instances, while different means are employed to supplement the verb in (b): an infinitive of *mḥy* (A), and an imperfect first person of *p'l* (B). Since the first two of the identical verbs are imperfects of the third person, referring to the coveter (*yḥmd, y'mr*), while the last one is obviously a perfect (*št*), the latter must be understood as a perfect with *wāw* consecutive. The use of such a perfect in Phoenician has hitherto been known only from its occurrence in Punic.[97]

Our inscription thus offers new testimony to the peculiar significance of names in the anicent Near East, and specifically of names inscribed on monuments that were designed to commemorate the

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[94] The autograph seems to have *hmllk*, the word being divided into *hml*, at the end of l. 15, and *lk* (the *k* partly broken off), at the beginning of l. 16; probably, then, a mere dittography of the *l*.

[95] After *'p*, " even," we should no doubt supply *'m*, " if "; cf. *'p 'm*, " even if," in the Eshmun-'azar inscription (Cooke, p. 30, l. 6).

[96] Or perhaps " the name of this king, Azitawaddu."

[97] *GPL*, 39 f.

achievements of kings under their gods. Apparently, Azitawaddu is more concerned about possible erasure of his name or the name of his citadel than about conditions that would lead to the erasure. By the same token, a future king or prince would wish not merely to possess the statue but to replace the name of Azitawaddu by "[another] name," the other name being of course that of the king or prince. Similarly, a future coveter of the citadel, not satisfied with being its master, would commit the "contemptible [dee]d" of incising "his name" on the statue "beside (or: over) this," that is, he would emulate Azitawaddu by naming the citadel after himself and would then have "his name" put on the statue.[98]

If the restoration [*mp*']*l zr* be correct, we would have here a counterpart to the use of *zâr*, literally "strange," in Hebrew and, especially, of the Mishnaic term *'ăḇôḏâ zârâ* for "pagan worship."[99] The meaning of *'l yw z* is clear enough from the context. But a word *yw* is not known in Semitic. One cannot help suspecting that *yw* is miswritten for *yd*, "hand," or perhaps for *gw*, "back"; both *'l yd z* and *'l gw z* could be seen to mean "beside this," "in place of this," "instead of this," "over this," as required by the context.

The apodosis of the conditional sentence begins with

ymlly h 'lm 'š 'l 'ztwd[*y*?],

"let the god who is over Azitawaddu (or: Azitawaddiya) cut him off." The reading *ymlly* is fairly certain, although only the initial

[98] The great antiquity of this concern may be seen from the prophylactic formula found in a statue inscription of Gudea, in which the latter is not only concerned that a future coveter would efface his name and incise on the statue his own name, but he adjures the gods to punish such a person by "extinguishing" his name in turn, by "removing his name from the temple of his god and from (his) inscriptions"; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumer. und Akkad. Königsinschriften*, p. 73 (ll. 22-23), 75 (ll. 13-16); similarly Hammurabi, in the Epilogue of his Code, is concerned that someone would "efface my name written thereon (that is, on the monument on which the Code was engraved) and write his own name"; Harper, *The Code of Ḫ.*, p. 103.

[99] That the word *zr* was familiar in Zenjirli may be seen from its occurrence in the Hadad inscription (ll. 30, 34). It is possible, however, that both here and above (4: 4), as well as in Hadad, the word intended was *zd*; as it happens, this would fit the context in the same way as *zr*, the two vocables serving in Hebrew as quasi synonyms when used in a figurative sense; cf. *zēḏ*, "impudent, frivolous," *zāḏôn*, "impudence, outrage."

letter is fully preserved, while of all remaining letters nothing is left except traces at the bottom of the word. Presumably, we deal here with a verb form derived from *m-l* which is used in Hebrew for "to cut off, to circumcise," so that, in the present connection, *ymlly h 'lm* may safely be rendered as "let the god cut him off" or "destroy him." The corresponding vocable in KLMW is *yšḥt*, which is only a better-known word for "let him destroy" than is *ymll*.[100] Both the reading and meaning are supported by the *mtmll* which we have met above (3:4), except that there a reflexive stem is used, in the sense of "to seek (or: dare) to cut off," while our *ymll* should be understood as representing an intensive or causative.[101]

The deity here invoked to destroy a future coveter is specified as "the god that is over Azitawaddu" or "over Azitawaddiya." He is further specified as the "Baal KRNTYRŠ who resides in this pa[lace]." This would seem to bear out the impression we have gained above that B.K. was the particular patron-god of Azitawaddu, while the Baal who made him "unto the Danunites as a father" was conceived of as the ethnic god of the Danunites, presumably their chief god. The reference to "this pa[lace]," if the restoration *bb*[*t*] be correct, might be seen to forestall rendering *qrt* as "city," the two words being apparently understood by the scribe as interchangeable.[102] Of the last line of the column, nothing is intact except perhaps *'m 'š*, "or personage," which may have been part of a phrase like one found in the prophylactic formula of Eshmun-'azar (ll. 9-10): "To cut them off, that king or person."

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[100] Still another verb, *qṣy*, apparently synonymous with both *m-l* and *šḥt*, is used in the prophylactic formula of Eshmun-'azar; see below on this page.

[101] It is quite possible, of course, that the underlying root in Phoenician was *mll* rather than *m-l*; we recall that both roots are used in Hebrew synonymously; cf., in view of our *mtmll*, the form *yiṯmôlālû* in Ps. 58:8.

[102] In a letter of May 11, Bossert states: "Es scheint jedoch, als ob die auf zwei Stieren stehende Statue (mit der vierkolumnigen Inschrift) in einem Art Kultraum gestanden habe"; if so, *bbt z* might mean "in this temple."

TRANSLATION

Col. 1

I am Azitawaddu, the blessed of Baa[l],
servant of Baal, a personage mighty, tr[ustworthy](?),
King of the Danunites.[103] [Baa]l has made me
unto the Danunites as a father [and as a brother.]
I have restored my [kingdom.]
I have expanded our(?) [la-]
nds from the ea[st even to]
the west. And there wa[s in my days well-]
being unto the Danuni[tes.] . . .
. . and . . . .
. . And [I have] made . . .
And [I have] humbled . . . .
. . . . . .
unto(?) . . . . .
. . . . . .
and . . . . . .
And [I have] put . . . .
even in . . . . .
in . . . . . .

Col. 2

mine(?) And I have built mighty walls in all
[extr]emities (of the land), upon the borders: in places in whi-
[ch] offense had [occur]red against supporters of Baal;[104] also (in) districts
[that n]o one had subjugated,[105] which belonged to Bet Mupsh.
[But I,] Azitawaddu, I did put them under
[my heels]. And I have built the walls in
those [places] in order that the Danunites might inhabit them
[in] their [ease] of heart. And I have humbled

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[103] Or: "Dananites" (here and passim).
[104] Or: "against D'M Baal."
[105] Possibly: "that no one had passed."

9 mighty [lands] in the west, which none
10 of [all] the kings that were before me [had humbled].
11 [Yet I,] Azitawaddu, I did humble them; [I have] made [them] go
12 [down] (from their homes in the west), I have made them settle in the extreme
13 [of my borders] in the east, while I [made] the Danunit-
14 [es set]tle there. And there was [security] in my da-
15 [ys in a]ll the borders of the Plain of Adan,

l. 3 1 from the east even to the west. And in places
2 that formerly had been dreadful, so that a person would dread
3 to travel on the road—now,[106] in my days, I do put restraint
4 to strife on the highways:[107] because of Baal and because of
5 the gods.[108] Thus, in all my days there was abundance, and well-being,
6 and pleasant habitation, and ease of heart, unto the Danunites
7 and unto all the Plain of Adan. And I have built this citadel
8 and [I have put] the name [thereof] Azitawaddiya, seeing Baal and Reshef ṢPRM
9 have sent me to build (it).[109] So I have built it because of Ba-
10 al and because of Reshef ṢPRM: in abundance, and in well-
11 being, and in pleasant habitation, and in ease of heart; in order that it be
12 a bulwark unto the Plain of Adan and unto Bet Mupsh. For in my days
13 there was abundance and well-being unto the land of the Plain of Adan, and there was none
14 seeking to cut off the Danunites in my days. Now I have built
15 this citadel and I have put its name Azitawaddiya, and I have installed

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[106-107] Possibly: "now, in my own days, a woman may tr[av]el alone on the highways."

[108] Possibly: "and because of El."

[109] Probably: "have prospered me to build."

16 this god, Baal KRNTRYŠ,[110] and he,
17 Baal KRNTRYŠ, has blessed Azitawaddu with li-
18 fe, and with peace, and with mighty power over every king,
19 in order that he, Baal KRNTRYŠ, grant to Azitawaddu
20 long days, and many years, and pl[easant] dominion,

Col. 4
1 and mighty power ov[er] every [ki]ng
2 and priest who would [commit an offense against] this god,
3 (even) anyone who would maliciously devise ( )
4 outrage.[111] . . . in
5 the season of plowing[112] . . .
6 and like . . . . .
7 abundance and [well-being] . . [Baal KRNTR-]
8 YŠ . . . . . .
9 Baal [KRNTRYŠ] and the Baal of He[avens].
10 And ble[ssed] was[113] . . the community of the Plain of Adan,
11 and ble[ssed was[113] every] servant of Azitawaddu and of[114]
12 Bet [Mupsh] because of Baal and because of the [go]ds.
13 And i[f (ever) a kin]g among kings, and a prince among pr[in]ces—
14 who [ever (it be that) would co]vet the human statue[115] there, who would
15 pr[esume to] efface this name of Azitawaddu the Ki-( )
16 ng,[116] and would put (on it) [another] name; even (if) he would covet
17 this citadel, and would say, "I shall do
18 a contemptible [dee]d, and would put his name over this—let

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[110] Probably, here and passim: "Baal of KRNTRYŠ."
[111] See above, n. 85.
[112] Or: "the season of the New Moon" (?).
[113] Or: "be."
[114] Literally: "servant unto Azitawaddu (or Azitawaddiya) and unto."
[115] Or: "the statue of a person."
[116] Or: "the name of this king, Azitawaddu."

19 the god who is over Azitawaddu [117] cut him off,

20 (namely,) [Ba]al KRNTRYŠ, who resides in this pa[lace].[118]
And in

21 . . or personage . . .

[117] Or: "Azitawaddiya."

[118] Possibly: "temple."

SUMMARY

A. Vocabulary, Idiom, and Orthography.

In their bulk and majority, the vocables employed in the Karatepe inscription are those commonly used in Phoenician. In view of its relatively lengthy text, however, it is only natural to find here a considerable number of lexical elements that do not appear to recur in the Phoenician inscriptions hitherto extant.[119] Most of these elements, we have seen, may easily be identified by their occurrence elsewhere in Canaanite, especially in Hebrew, or by combining them with closely related elements. It will be convenient to review the lexical material in question along the following lines.

(1) Beforehand we might have expected that such common, everyday words and roots as are widely used in Hebrew, particularly when they are found in Moabitic or Ugaritic as well, can hardly have been unknown in Phoenician. The presence of words and roots of this kind in our inscription would thus merely confirm the suspicion that their absence in the Phoenician documents at our disposal is merely accidental, owing to the limited lexical scope of those documents: e. g., the nouns *lb*, "heart," *drk*, "road," *ḥmyt*, "walls," *šb'* (= *śb'*), "satiation, abundance"; the verbs *yrd*, "to descend," *ḥmd*, "to covet, to desire"; the verbal substantive *lkt*, "walking."[120]

(2) Even more apparent is the nature of the "new" lexical materials in instances of vocables which, while found for the first time in our inscription, are represented elsewhere in Phoenician by corresponding cognates: the nouns *mšmr*, "bulwark, safeguard," *mn'm*, "well-being," *šlm*, "peace, submission, security," *qṣt*, "extreme," and its plural *qṣyt*, "extremities," *plkm*, "highways," [*mp'*]*l*, "deed"; the verbs *'bd* (= *'abbada*), "to subjugate, to reduce to servitude"; the participle *d'm*, "supporter"; the verbal nouns *šbt*, "dwelling, habitation"; **tt*, "giving, granting."[121]

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[119] Taking as a basis the materials listed in Lidzbarski, *Handbuch* and *Ephemeris*; in *Répertoire d'épigraphie Sémitique*, 1-3, and in the Glossary of *GPL*.

[120] It is noteworthy that all of these vocables occur in Ugaritic; *hlk* and *yrd* also in Moabitic.

[121] See *GPL*, vv. *šmrt*, "watch, watch-tower (?)"; *n'm*, "be pleasant";

(3) To be sure, some of the vocables under question do seem rather surprising, inasmuch as they represent elements which, for the older period, are best known from their occurrence in the biblical writings or are even known from these writings only, and have therefore been held to be peculiarly Hebrew. Such might seem to be the case of the nouns *nḥt*, "ease," *rš't*, "dominion, authority," *rzn*, "prince," *'šm*, "offense, guilt," *zr*, "outrage," "contemptible"; of the verbs *š-'*, "to dread," *m-l*, "to cut off," *'-n*, "to humble"; of the preposition *b'br*, "because of." But the occurrence of these elements in a center as remote from Palestine as Cilicia, combined with the case of *nḥt*, "ease," now known to have been used in Ugaritic (*nxt*), would simply establish direct evidence that these elements were common in Phoenician to the point of having survived at least in one center of its diffusion, though in reality they may have survived in more than one center.

(4) There remains a group of vocables, present in our inscription and not found elsewhere in Phoenician, the identity of which is open to question: either because they occur in clauses of more or less ambiguous meaning, as *tk*, "restraint," *drm*, "districts," or because there is room for suspicion that the given word is miswritten, as in *'l yw*, "instead of, in place of," or else because of a paleographic uncertainty, as in *ḥry*, "strife." The connotation of each of these vocables in themselves could easily enough be discerned, to be sure, but in each instance there might be a question whether the vocable read was the one actually intended by the scribe.

Apart from the vocabulary, there is nothing in the idiom of our inscription which allows the slightest doubt that it be classed as Old Phoenician, plain and simple. It is true that such Phoenician colony or colonies as may have existed in southern Cilicia at the time of Azitawaddu must be assumed to have developed dialectic peculiarities of their own. By the testimony of our text, however, such peculiarities would appear to have been of subordinate nature. By and large, we have met with morphologic and syntactic features that have long since been known either as common Canaanite or else as peculiarly Phoenician.

Thus the "feminine" *t*-ending in verbal substatives tertiae infirmae (*lbnt*, *lmḥt*), the plural *'lm* in the sense of "god," the

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the theophorous names with *šlm*; *qṣy*, "cut off," *p'l*, "do, make, work"; on *plkm* and *d'm*, see above, n. 72 and pp. 17 f.

article *h*, the particle *l* introducing a second object (*p'ln . . . l'b*), the double preposition *lm(n)*, in the sense of "from" (*lmmṣ'*), the combination of *l* and a plural or dual of *pn*, in the sense of "before" (*lpny*), the *wāw* consecutive (*wšt*), the promiscuity of masculine and feminine plurals of *ym*, "day," (*bymty, 'rk ymm*), a single article prefixed to a substantive and a demonstrative (*h 'lm z*)—all these are features in which Phoenician shares with Hebrew or Moabitic or with both the one and the other. Whether our inscription employs verb forms with infixed *t*, as do Old Phoenician and Moabitic,[122] or whether the particular instances (*yšt'*, *mšt'm*) are cases of metathesis of the common Semitic reflexive, which does have a representative in our text (*mtmll*), are questions that cannot be decided for the present.

On the other hand, we come throughout our text upon linguistic features outstandingly Phoenician, that is, features that have hitherto not been found anywhere outside Phoenician. I am referring to the characteristic relative pronoun (*'š*), the demonstrative pronoun *z* employed for both masculine and feminine, the plural demonstrative *hmt*, "those,"[123] the accusative particle *'yt*, the possessive and the verbal suffix of the third person singular *y*, "his, him" (*wbny, šmy*), its plural counterpart *nm*, "their, them" (*lbnm, 'ntnm*), the particle *l* plus a verbal noun introducing a clause of purpose (*lšbtnm, lkny, ltty*).

Only two syntactic features manifest in our inscription might be seen to repersent peculiarities of the Old Phoenician dialect of the "Plain of Adan." One of these features is the persistent function of the participle as a historical present, or perhaps as a narrative tempus, which is found elsewhere in Phoenician only sporadically. The second, much more striking feature is the use of verbs that are commonly employed as intransitives to denote not only transitive action, as in *rḥb 'nk*, "I have expanded," but even intensive and indeed causitive action, as in *'n 'nk*, "I have humbled (mighty lands)," *yrdm 'nk*, "I have made them go down," *yšbm 'nk*, "I have made them settle." That this usage is not confined to the participle we have seen from instances like

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[122] Apparently also Hebrew; cf. *GPL*, p. 43, n. 20.

[123] In Ugaritic, *hmt* is used as the oblique case of *hm*, "they," but it may well have been employed in a demonstrative sense as well (cf. *hēm* and *hâhēm* in Hebrew).

'ntnm, "I humbled them," *lšbtnm dnnym,* "that the Danunites might inhabit them."

To the extent to which the two documents can be compared, the orthography of the K(aratepe) text may be said to be like that exhibited in the KLMW inscription from Z(enjirli). In both documents, the orthography is characterized by the lack of vowel letters, whether in medial position, as in *'dr,* "mighty," and *št,* "to put" (K and Z), or in final position, as in *z,* "this," *bn,* "to build," (K), *ḥz,* "to see," *pn,* "face," (Z). This is also the case where a vowel letter might have been suggested by historical orthography as in *mṣ' < mwṣ'* (K) or in *bt < byt* (K and Z).[124]

A question could arise only with regard to the instances of final aleph—*mṣ', mb',* in K, *ks',* in Z—and the rather frequent occurrence of a final *y.* The latter may be divided into three groups: First, instances of *-y* representing the possessive of the first person singular, "my"; as it happens all occurrences of this kind stand in the genitive case in K (*'yt [mmlkt]y, lpny, bymty,* etc.) as they do in Z (*bt 'by, bymy, bbny*). Second, instances of final *y* representing the pronominal suffix of the third person, "his, him," as in *mb'y, bny* (in K) and in *lmn'ry, šty* (in Z). Finally, the case of *ḥry* in our inscription, in which the *y* would be radical rather than a suffix and might be compared with *my,* "whoever," in Z; and the case of the name of Azitawaddu's citadel in which the *-y* is adjectival, corresponding to **dn[n]y* in Z.

There would thus seem to be reason for the assumption that, at least in official and formal speech, final vowels, short as well as long, were still pronounced in both Phoenician dialects represented by K and Z, respectively, so that the presence or absence of weak consonants (*y, '*) in final position depended on the surrounding vowels.[124a] The suspicion becomes especially pertinent in view of the writing **dnny* and *'ztwdy.* Since both documents contained the *y* in the plural *dnnym,* "Danunites," while leaving the vowel of the plural ending *īm* unrepresented (*mlkm,* etc.), the *y* must have been sounded in the gentilic adjectives—in contrast to its elision

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[124] The historical orthography for both vocables is actually evidenced in the younger Zenjirli inscriptions: *mwq'* (Panammu, l. 13), *bbyt 'bwh* (*ibid.*, l. 2, etc.).

[124a] For the presence or absence of *y* in medial position, cf. *qṣt* (*qaṣāt < qaṣayat*), "extreme," but *qṣyt* (*qaṣayā/ōt*), "extremities."

in younger Phoenician, as in *ṣdnm*, "Sidonians," and Hebrew, as in *pĕlištîm*, "Philistines." It would thus be very odd indeed that in a word like **dnny*, "Danunite," the *y* should have been sounded and, consequently, retained in writing, if it were followed by zero vowel. It is in view of this consideration that the name of the citadel would seem to have been pronounced "Azitawaddīyu" or, perhaps more likely, "Azitawaddīya," and the two geographical designations of our inscription, "Plain of Adana" and "Bet Mupshi." Perhaps we should further assume that the three vocables with final *aleph* mentioned above, all standing in the genitive, were pronounced *mōṣa'i, mabō'i, kissi'i.*[125]

B. *Problem of Dating.*

Is it possible to determine, if only in approximation, the date of Azitawaddu's reign and, by the same token, the date of our inscription? We have seen already that by the testimony of its paleography we would be dealing here with a stage in the development of North Semitic epigraphy represented by the alphabetic monuments from Zenjirli, Hamath, Sujin (Arpad). Geographically, the area of these monuments would naturally have included Azitawaddu's kingdom, the site of his citadel having been only a few miles distant from Zenjirli. In chronological respect, the monuments in question comprise roughly a period of one hundred years, between the ninth and the eighth centuries, B. C. Excepting only the inscription of KLMW, unquestionably the oldest of the Zenjirli finds and older than both the Hamath and the Sujin monuments, all inscriptions of this group are written either in Aramaicised Phoenician or in plain Aramaic. Our inscription would thus be more akin to that of the KLMW inscription than to any of the other monuments of the period, akin both in language and paleography, and this would suggest proximity in age as well.

Apart from the criterion of the writing and the idiom, our inscription would appear to offer a clue to the question of dating by its overbearing political outlook. In sharp contrast to the several kings of Zenjirli, who speak of hard times and hint at a lesser or greater degree of submission to the "wheel of my lord, the king of

[125] The preservation of the sign for ' in the later period of Phoenician inscriptions (cf. above, n. 55), when final short vowels had been dropped and, in consequence, the glottal stop elided (as in Hebrew), would of course be due to historical orthography; cf. *GPL*, pp. 17, 36.

Assyria," Azitawaddu speaks throughout the inscription in the manner of a self-assured potentate. He boasts of his unprecedented conquests, of his and his country's prosperity, of his dominion and power "over every king," without as much as even a passing reference to Assyria. This alone should be taken to show conclusively that his reign must have preceded the period of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727), during which the supremacy of Assyria in northern Syria and Cilicia was as complete as it was unchallenged. Rather, it bespeaks an era of freedom from fear of the Assyrian overlordship, a period of Assyria's weakness.

Such a period actually occurred twice during the centuries in question: once in the second half of the ninth century, in the last years of Shalmaneser III and following his death in 824, when Assyria was plagued by revolution and civil war (827-821) and by wars against Babylon and Urarṭu under Shamshi-Adad (822-811); and again in the first half of the eighth century between the death of Adad-nirari and the ascendence of Tiglath-pileser, that is, between 782 and 746.[126]

If we assume that Azitawaddu's reign fell within the earlier period, one or two data might be adduced in support of such a dating. KLMW's father, Xaian, son of Gabbar, is mentioned in the Monolith of Shalmaneser III for the second and sixth years (859-54).[127] Xaian was followed by Š'L, KLMW's brother and immediate predecessor. If we allow some thirty years for the balance of Xaian's reign and for the entire reign of Š'L, we would have KLMW ascend the throne c. 825. In speaking of his own reign, the latter laments how he was attacked by "the king of the Danunites," how he hired a "king of Assyria" against the attacker, and how the immediate results of the struggle were disastrous for his country: "a virgin would be offered at the price of a sheep, and a man at the price of a garment."

It is hardly necessary to point out that the hired "king of Assyria" could not possibly have been the emperor, and that the phrase can only have referred to some governor of an Assyrian colony or to the chieftain of an Assyrian garrison. The important thing is that the tale of woes in the one inscription and the glowing

[126] See Sidney Smith in *The Cambridge Ancient History* III, pp. 25 ff., 30 f.

[127] See Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1, pp. 217, 222.

record in the other supplement one another so closely that it is exceedingly tempting to propose that "the king of the Danunites" who overwhelmed KLMW was none other than Azitawaddu. If the two *were* contemporaries, we would at once understand the striking close affinity between the two inscriptions, not only in idiom and paleography but in orthographic minutae and in some stylistic details as well. We recall Azitawaddu's curious statement that he obtained "pleasant dominion and mighty power over every king and priest." Might not this be a derisive allusion to the title "priest of Assur" assumed by Assyrian kings, a title in which Shalmaneser III would seem to have taken particularly great pride?[128]

It is to be hoped that further excavation at Karatepe will yield more tangible data bearing on the problem of dating than those that have been advanced above. It is also to be hoped that the forthcoming publication of the duplicates, Phoenician as well as Hittite, will help solve the manifold questions of reading, restoration, and interpretation that have been left undecided in the present study. More than this, those materials may well help us understand the true significance of the inscription.

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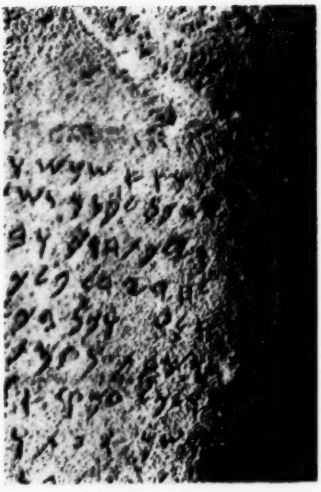
[128] Cf. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, pp. 201 (556: Priest of Assur . . . Son of Assurnasirpal, the high priest, whose priesthood, etc.), 212 (596), 227 (616), 228 (617: the god [Assur] who loves my priesthood), 249 (696: Priest of Assur, Son of Assurnasirpal, Priest of Assur, Son of Tukulti-Urta, Priest of Assur).

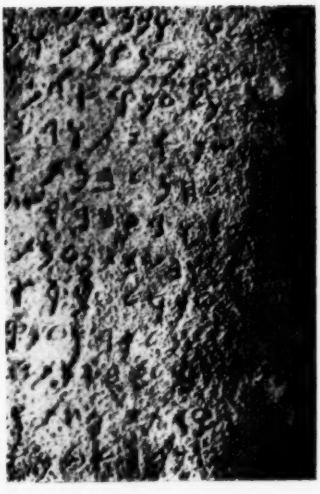
POSTSCRIPT

In a letter of August 5, Prof. Bossert was good enought to inclose a copy of one of the Phoenician "duplicates." It reached me after the galley proofs of this study had been cleared and returned to the printer. Even if it had reached me sooner, a collation of the two texts would have, in the main, added but little to the reading and interpretation of our columns 2 and 3, valuable though such a collation appears to be with regard to this or that detail. The great importance of the new text is that it is virtually complete throughout, except for one or two lines, perhaps merely one or two words, at the conclusion of the finale. It thus provides us with an equivalent of the two large passages that are missing on the statue, in col. 1 and col. 4; and it furnishes documentary testimony by which the manifold restorations I have felt prompted to suggest may be tested. Some of those restorations are plainly confirmed, while others prove unfounded or remain doubtful. Nor is the gain altogether one-sided. At least one lacuna found in the new witness to the Azitawaddu inscription can be easily restored by a phrase that happens to be intact within an otherwise badly distorted passage on the statue. When all the variants, additions, and omissions are taken together, however, one gains the impression of being faced with two different versions of the inscription—very possibly inscribed on different occasions or for different purposes—rather than with mere duplicates. In short, the new text will be found to be important for its own sake no less than for its bearing on the inscription of the statue. Its speedy publication would be greatly desirable on either ground.

J. O.

C
l. 1-9;





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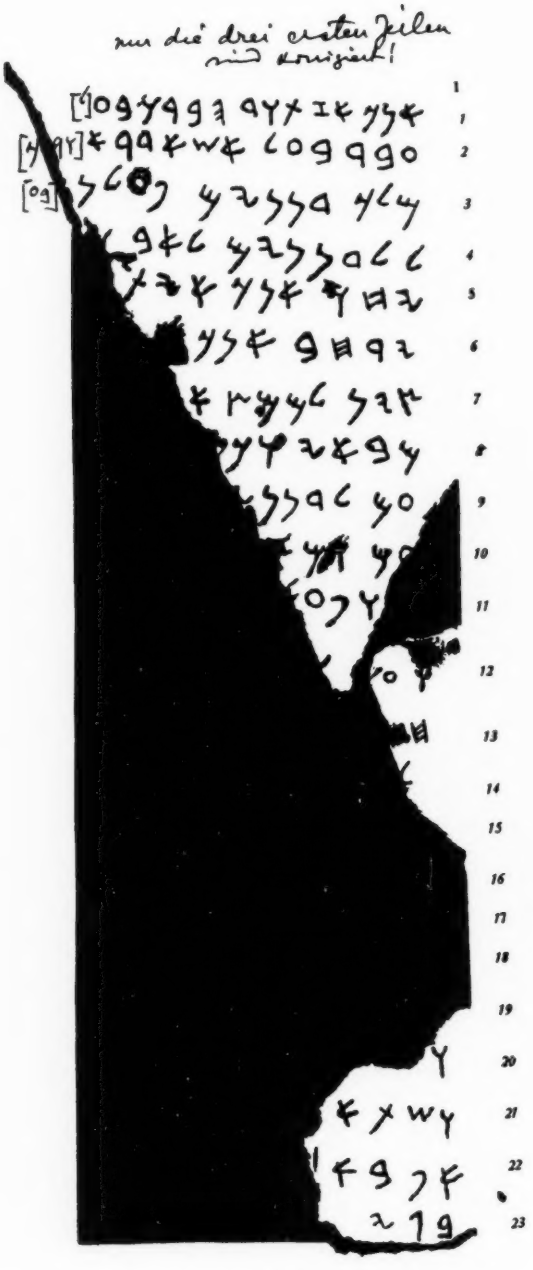
l. 1-9; 1-11; 6-15

Col. 3: 1-9; 5-16; 1-18; 9-20



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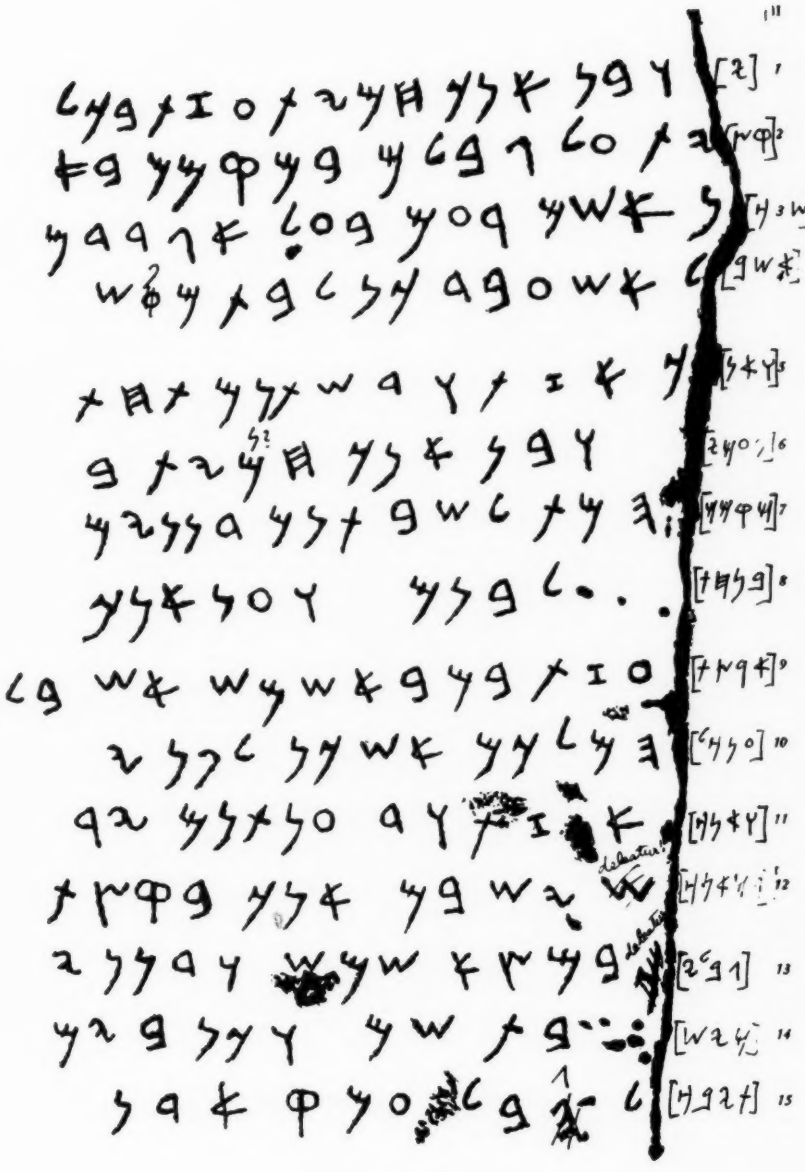
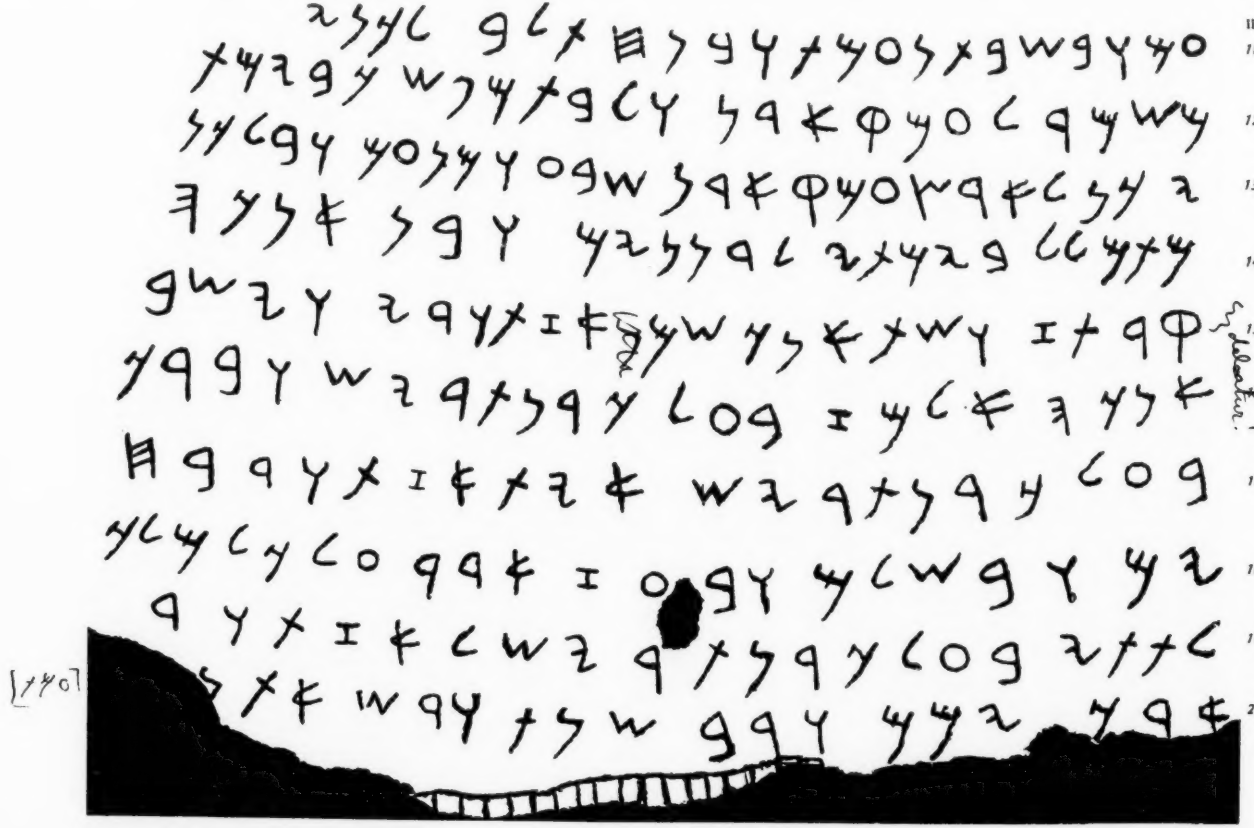


Col. 2

Col. 3: 1-11



Col. 3: 11-20

Col. 4

The Lion Fragment